THE

IMPEACHMENT

OF THE

HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK.

BY

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

By statutes 1 William and Mary, cap. 2, 12, and 13 William III., cap. 2, and 6 Anne, cap. 11, article 2, the British Parliament, limiting the Monarchy to members of the Church of England, excluded the Stuarts, and from and after the death of King William and the Princess Anne without heirs, contrived that the Crown of this kingdom should devolve upon the Princess Sophia, Electress and Duchess Dowager of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants. Heirs failing to Anne, although she was seventeen times pregnant, and Sophia dying about seven weeks before Anne, George, Elector of Hanover, succeeded under these Acts as George I. of England, France, Scotland, and Ireland. The official delusion that our monarchs ruled also over France was kept up until the commencement of the present century.

It is said, and perhaps truly, that the German Protestant Guelph was an improvement on the Catholic Stuart, and the Whigs take credit for having effected this change in spite of the Tories. This credit they deserve; but it must not be forgotten that scarcely half a century before [illegible] had again, [illegible] aristocracy, including the patriotic Whigs, had [illegible] to be found [illegible] to throne the Stuarts, who had been d[illegible] of the people, with them it this very aristocracy, of which the W[illegible]itt said that Mr. Fox had assisted in calling back the Stuarts in [illegible] there would have been no need to th[illegible] that family out.

The object of this essay is to subm[illegible] the Acts of Settlement and Union [illegible] the throne is concerned, after the [illegible] present monarch. It is assume[illegible] supporters of the present royal f[illegible] to deal with the throne is in[illegible] people, to be exercised by them

Parliament cannot proceed [illegible]r. Pitt's) answer was:—[illegible]d contradicted that asser-[illegible], no King being present, [illegible]without a King."

[illegible]r-General and Judge, in the [illegible]our ancestors and the genius [illegible]derstood, a century ago, had [illegible]ns of the realm to pass a law

Parliament. The right of the members of the House of Brunswick to succeed to the throne is a right accruing only from the Acts of Settlement and Union, it being clear that, except for these statutes, they had no claim to the throne. It is therefore submitted that should Parliament in its wisdom see fit to enact that after the death or abdication of her present Majesty, the throne shall no longer be filled by a member of the House of Brunswick, such an enactment would be perfectly within the competency of Parliament. It is further submitted that Parliament has full and uncontrollable authority to make any enactment, and to repeal any enactment heretofore made, even if such new statute, or the repeal of any old statute, should in truth change the constitution of the Empire, or modify the character and powers of either Parliamentary Chamber. The Parliament of the English Commonwealth, which met on April 25th, 1660, gave the crown to Charles II., and the Parliament of the British Monarchy has the undoubted right to withhold the Crown from Albert Edward Prince of Wales. The convention which assembled at Westminster on January 22nd, 1688, took away the Crown from James II., and passed over his son, the then Prince of Wales, as if he had been non-existent. This convention was declared to have all the authority of Parliament—*ergo*, Parliament has admittedly the right to deprive a living King of his Crown, and to treat a Prince of Wales as having no claim to the succession.

In fact two clauses of the Act of Settlement were repealed in the reign of Queen Anne, and a third clause was repealed early in the reign of George I., showing that this particular statute has never been considered immutable or irrepealable. It is true that the clauses repealed were only of consequence to the nation, and that their repeal was no injury to the Crown. The unbounded right of the supreme Legislature to enlarge its own powers was contended for and admitted in 1716, when the duration of Parliament was extended four years, a triennial Parliament declaring itself and all future Parliaments septennial. It has been held to be sedition to deny the complete authority of the Irish Parliament to put an end to its own existence. It has been admitted

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on the throne. The following Parliamentary *dicta* support this opinion:

The Honorable Temple Luttrell, in a speech made in the House of Commons, on the 7th November, 1775, showed "that of thirty-three sovereigns since William the Conqueror, thirteen only have ascended the throne by divine hereditary right. . . . The will of the people, superseding any hereditary claim to succession, at the commencement of the twelfth century placed Henry I. on the throne," and this subject to conditions as to laws to be made by Henry. King John was compelled solemnly to register an assurance of the ancient rights of the people in a formal manner; and this necessary work was accomplished by the Congress at Runnymede, in the year 1115. "Sir, in the reign of Henry III. (about the year 1223), the barons, clergy, and freeholders, understanding that the King, as Earl of Poictou, had landed some of his continental troops on the western ports of England, with a design to strengthen a most odious and arbitrary set of ministers, they assembled in a Convention or Congress, whence they despatched deputies to King Henry, declaring that if he did not immediately send back those Poictouvians, and remove from his person and councils evil advisers, they would place upon the throne a prince who should better observe the laws of the land. Sir, the King not only hearkened to that Congress, but shortly after complied with every article of their demand, and publicly notified his reformation. Now, Sir, what are we to call that assembly which dethroned Edward II. when the Archbishop of Canterbury preached a sermon on this text, '*The voice of the people is the voice of God!*'" "A Prince of the House of Lancaster was invited over from banishment, and elected by the people to the throne," on the fall of Richard II. "I shall next proceed to the general Convention and Congress, which in 1461 enthroned the Earl of March by the name of Edward IV., the Primate of all England collecting the suffrages of the people." "In 1659 a Convention or Congress restored legal Monarchy in the person of Charles II."

William Pitt, on the 16th December, 1788, being then Chancellor of the Exchequer, contended that "the right of providing for the deficiency of Royal authority rested with the two remaining branches of the Legislature;" and again, "on the disability of the Sovereign, where was the right to be found? It was to be found in the voice, in the sense of the people, with them it rested." On the 22nd December Mr. Pitt said that Mr. Fox had contended that "the two Houses of Parliament cannot proceed to legislate without a King." His (Mr. Pitt's) answer was:— "The conduct of the Revolution had contradicted that assertion; they had acted legislatively, and, no King being present, they must consequently have acted without a King."

Mr. Hardinge, afterwards Solicitor-General and Judge, in the same debate, said: "The virtues of our ancestors and the genius of the Government accurately understood, a century ago, had prompted the Lords and Commons of the realm to pass a law

without a King; and a law which, as he had always read it, had put upon living record this principle: 'That whenever the supreme executive hand shall have lost its power to act, the people of the land, fully and freely represented, can alone repair the defect.'"

On the 26th December, in the House of Lords, discussing the power to exclude a sitting Monarch from the throne, the Earl of Abingdon said: "Will a King exclude himself? No! No! my Lords, that exclusion appertains to us and to the other House of Parliament exclusively. It is to us it belongs, it is our duty. It is the business of the Lords and Commons of Great Britain, and of us alone, as the trustees and representatives of the nation." And, following up this argument, Lord Abingdon contended that, in the contingency he was alluding to, "the right to new model or alter the succession vests in the Parliament of England without the King, in the Lords and Commons of Great Britain solely and exclusively."

Lord Stormont, in the same debate, pointed out that William III. "possessed no other right to the throne than that which he derived from the votes of the two Houses."

The Marquis of Lansdowne said: "One of the best constitutional writers we had was Mr. Justice Foster, who, in his book on the 'Principles of the Constitution,' denies the right even of hereditary succession, and says it is no right whatever, but merely a political expedient. The Crown, Mr. Justice Foster said, was not merely a descendable property like a laystall or a pig-stye, but was put in trust for millions, and for the happiness of ages yet unborn, which Parliament has it always in its power to mould, to shape, to alter, to fashion, just as it shall think proper. And in speaking of Parliament," his Lordship said, "Mr. Justice Foster repeatedly spoke of the two Houses of Parliament only."

My object being to procure the repeal of the only title under which any member of the House of Brunswick could claim to succeed the present sovereign on the throne, or to procure a special enactment which shall for the future exclude the Brunswicks, as the Stuarts were excluded in 1688 and 1701, the following grounds are submitted as justifying and requiring such repeal or new enactment:—

1st. That during the period through which the Brunswick family have reigned over the British Empire, the policy and conduct of the majority of the members of that family, and especially of the various reigning members, always saving and excepting her present Majesty, have been hostile to the welfare of the mass of the people. This will be sought to be proved by a sketch of the principal events in the reign of each monarch, from August 1st, 1714, to the present date.

2nd. That during the same period fifteen-sixteenths of the entire National debt have been created, and that the balance due of this debt is in great part the result of wars arising from the mischievous and pro-Hanoverian policy of the Brunswick family.

3rd. That in consequence of the incompetence or want of desire for governmental duty on the part of the various reigning members of the House of Brunswick, the governing power of the country has been practically limited to a few families who have used government in too many instances as a means of advancing their own interests; while it is submitted that government should be the best contrivance of national wisdom for the alleviation of national suffering and promotion of national happiness. Earl Grey declares that "Our national annals since the Revolution of 1688 present a sad picture of the selfishness, baseness, and corruption of the great majority of the actors on the political stage."

4th. That a huge pension list has been created, the recipients of the largest pensions, or of the commutation price for such pensions, being in several cases persons who are already members of wealthy families, and who have done nothing whatever to justify their being kept in idleness at the national expense, while so many workers in the agricultural districts are in a state of semi-starvation; while so many toilers in large works in Wales, Scotland and some parts of England, are in constant debt and dependence; and while large numbers of the Irish peasantry—having for many generations been denied life at home—have until lately been driven to seek across the sea those means of existence which their own fertile land should have amply provided for them.

5th. That the monarchs of the Brunswick family have been, except in a few cases where they have distinguished themselves by vicious interference, costly puppets, useful only to the governing aristocracy as a cloak to shield the real wrongdoers from the just reproaches of the people.

6th. That the Brunswick family have shown themselves utterly incapable of initiating or encouraging wise legislation. George I. was shut out practically from the government by his utter ignorance of the English language, his want of sympathy with British habits, and his frequent absences from this country. A volume of history, published by Messrs. Longmans in 1831, says that "George I. continued a German princeling on the British throne —surrounded still by his petty Hanoverian satellites, and so ignorant even of the language of his new subjects, that his English minister, who understood neither French nor German, could communicate with him only by an imperfect jargon of barbarous Latin." He "discarded his wife, and had two mistresses publicly installed in their Court rights and privileges." Earl Grey affirms that "the highly beneficial practice of holding Cabinet Councils without the presence of the sovereign arose from George the First's not knowing English." Leslie describes George I. as altogether ignorant of our language, laws, customs, and constitution. Madame de Maintenon writes of him as disgusted with his subjects. George II. was utterly indifferent to English improvement, and was mostly away in Hanover. Lord Hervey's "Memoirs" portray him as caring for nothing but soldiers and women, and declare that his highest ambition was to

combine the reputation of a great general with that of a successful libertine. George III. was repeatedly insane, and in his officially lucid moments his sanity was more dangerous to England than his madness. Buckle says that he was "despotic as well as superstitious. . . . Every liberal sentiment, everything approaching to reform, nay, even the mere mention of inquiry, was an abomination in the eyes of that narrow and ignorant prince." Lord Grenville, his Prime Minister, said of him: "He had perhaps the narrowest mind of any man I ever knew." George IV. was a dissipated, drunken debauchee, bad husband, unfaithful lover, untrustworthy friend, unnatural father, corrupt regent, and worse king. Buckle speaks of "the incredible baseness of that ignoble voluptuary." William IV. was obstinate and untruthful, but fortunately, fearful of losing his crown, gave way to progress with a bad grace when chicanery was no longer possible, and continued resistance became dangerous.

7th. That, under the Brunswick family, the national expenditure has increased to a frightful extent, while our best possessions in America have been lost, and our home possession, Ireland, rendered chronic in its discontent by the terrible misgovernment under the four Georges.

And, 8th. That the ever-increasing burden of the national taxation has been shifted from the land on to the shoulders of the middle and lower classes, the landed aristocracy having, until very lately, enjoyed the practical monopoly of tax-levying power.

CHAPTER II.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE I.

On August 1st, 1714, George Lewis, Elector of Hanover, and great-grandson of James I. of England, succeeded to the throne; but apparently doubtful as to the reception he would meet in this country he delayed visiting his new dominions until the month of October. In April, 1714, there was so little disposition in favor of the newly-chosen dynasty, that the Earl of Oxford entreated George not to bring any of his family into England without Queen Anne's express consent. Madame Elizabeth Charlotte, Duchesse d'Orléans, expresses her hesitation "to rejoice at the accession of our Prince George, for she had no confidence in the English;" and her fears "that the inconstancy of the English will in the end produce some scheme which may be injurious to the French monarchy." She adds: "If the English were to be trusted, I should say that it is fortunate the Parliaments are in favor of George, but the more one reads of the history of English revolutions the more one is compelled to

remark the eternal hatred which the people of that nation have had towards their kings, as well as their fickleness." To-day it is the English who charge the French with fickleness. Thackeray says that George I. "showed an uncommon prudence and coolness of behavior when he came into his kingdom, exhibiting no elation; reasonably doubtful whether he should not be turned out some day; looking upon himself only as a lodger, and making the most of his brief tenure of St. James's and Hampton Court, plundering, it is true, somewhat, and dividing amongst his German followers; but what could be expected of a sovereign who at home could sell his subjects at so many ducats per head, and make no scruple in so disposing of them?" At the accession of George I. the national debt of this country, exclusive of annuities, was about £36,000,000; and after five Brunswicks have left us, it is £780,000,000 for Great Britain and Ireland, and much more than £130,000,000 for India. The annual national expenditure under the rule of George I. was about £6,000,000; for 1880 it was about £86,000,000. During the reign of George I. land very nearly paid one-fourth the whole of the taxes, to-day it pays less than one-seventieth part; and yet, while its proportion of the burden is so much lighter, its exaction from labor in rent is many times heavier.

George I. came to England without his wife, whom, years before, he had arrested and placed in close confinement in Ahlden Castle, on account of her intrigue with Philip, Count Konigsmark, whom some say George I. suspected of being the actual father of the Electoral Prince George, afterwards George II. To use the language of a writer patronised by George Prince of Wales, in 1808, "The coldness between George I. and his son and successor, George II., may be said to have been *almost coeval with the existence* of the latter." Our King, George I.—described by Thackeray, as a "cold, selfish libertine"—had Konigsmark murdered in the palace of Heranhausen; confined his wife, at twenty-eight years of age, in a dungeon, where she remained until she was sixty; and when George Augustus, Electoral Prince of Hanover, tried to get access to his mother, George Lewis, then Elector of Hanover, arrested Prince George also, and it is said would have put him to death if the Emperor of Germany had not protected him as a Prince of the German Empire. During the reign of George II., Frederick Prince of Wales, whom his father denounced as "a changeling," published an account of how George I. had turned Frederick's father out of the palace. These Guelphs have been ever a loving family. The *Edinburgh Review* declares that "the terms on which the eldest sons of this family have always lived with their fathers have been those of distrust, opposition, and hostility." Even after George Lewis had ascended the throne of England, his hatred to George Augustus was so bitter that there was some proposition that James, Earl Berkeley and Lord High Admiral, should carry off the prince to America, and keep him there.

Thackeray says: "When George I. made his first visit to Hanover, his son was appointed regent during the Royal absence. But this honor was never again conferred on the Prince of Wales; he and his father fell out presently. On the occasion of the christening of his second son, a Royal row took place, and the Prince, shaking his fist in the Duke of Newcastle's face, called him a rogue, and provoked his august father. He and his wife were turned out of St. James's, and their princely children taken from them, by order of the Royal head of the family. Father and mother wept piteously at parting from their little ones. The young ones sent some cherries, with their love, to papa and mamma, the parents watered the fruit with their tears. They had no tears thirty-five years afterwards when Prince Frederick died, their eldest son, their heir, their enemy."

A satirical ballad on the expulsion of Prince George from St James's Palace, which was followed by the death of the newly-christened baby Prince, is droll enough to repeat:—

"The King then took his grey goose quill,
And dipt it o'er in gall;
And, by Master Vice-Chamberlain,
He sent to him this scrawl:

"'Take hence yourself, and eke your spouse,
Your maidens and your men;
Your trunks, and all your trumpery,
Except your Chil-de-ren.'

* * * * * *

"The prince secured with nimble haste
The Artillery Commission;
And with him trudged full many a maid,
But not one politician.

"Up leapt Lepel, and frisked away,
As though she ran on wheels;
Miss Meadows made a woeful face,
Miss Howe took to her heels.

"But Bellenden I needs must praise,
Who, as down stairs she jumps,
Sang 'O'er the hills and far away,'
Despising doleful dumps.

"Then up the street they took their way,
And knockt up good Lord Grant-ham;
Higgledy-piggledy they lay,
And all were *rantum scantum*.

"Now sire and son had played their part,
What could befall beside?
Why the poor babe took this to heart,
Kickt up its heels, and died."

Mahon, despite all his desire to make out the best for the Whig revolution and its consequences, occasionally makes some pregnant admissions: "The jealousy which George I. entertained for his son was no new feeling. It had existed even at Hanover, and had since been inflamed by an insidious motion of the Tories that out of the Civil List £100,000 should be allotted as a separate revenue for the Prince of Wales. This motion was over-ruled by the Ministerial party, and its rejection offended the Prince as much as its proposal had the King. In fact it is remarkable that since that family has reigned the heirs-apparent have always been on ill terms with the sovereign. There have been four Princes of Wales since the death of Anne, and all four have gone into bitter opposition." "That family," said Lord Carteret one day in full Council, "always has quarrelled, and always will quarrel, from generation to generation."

"Through the whole of the reign of George I., and through nearly half the reign of George II.," says Lord Macaulay, "a Tory was regarded as the enemy of the reigning house, and was excluded from all the favors of the Crown. Though most of the country gentlemen were Tories, none but Whigs were appointed deans and bishops. In every county opulent and well-descended Tory Squires complained that their names were left out of the Commission of the Peace, while men of small estate and of mean birth, who were for toleration and excise, septennial Parliaments, and standing armies, presided at Quarter Sessions, and became deputy-lieutenants."

In attacking the Whigs my object is certainly not to favor the Tories, but to rectify the delusion that the Whigs have always been friends to liberty and progress.

Although George I. brought with him no wife to England, he was accompanied by at least two of his mistresses, and our peerage roll was enriched by the addition of Madame Kielmansegge as Countess of Darlington, and Mademoiselle Erangard Melosine de Schulenberg as Duchess of Kendal and Munster, Baroness of Glastonbury, and Countess of Faversham. These peeresses were received with high favor by the Whig aristocracy, although the Tories refused to countenance them, and "they were often hooted by the mob as they passed through the streets." The *Edinburgh Review* described them as "two big blowsy German women." Here I have no room to deal fairly with Charlotte Sophia, Baroness of Brentford and Countess of Darlington; her title is extinct, and I can write nothing of any good or useful act to revive her memory. Lord Chesterfield says of George I.: "No woman came amiss to him, if she were only very willing and very fat." John Heneage Jesse, in his "Memoirs of the Court of England," —speaking of the Duchess of Kendal, the Countess Platen, (the co-partner in the murder of Konigsmark), and many others less known to infamy—declares that George I. "had the folly and wickedness to encumber himself with a seraglio of hideous

German prostitutes." The Duchess of Kendal was for many years the chief mistress of George, and being tall and lean, was caricatured as the Maypole or the Giraffe. She had a pension of £7,500 a-year, the profits of the place of Master of the Horse, besides much other plunder from the national purse. The Countess of Darlington's figure may be judged from the name of Elephant or Camel popularly awarded to her. Horace Walpole writes: "I remember as a boy being terrified at her enormous figure. The fierce black eyes, large and rolling, between two lofty-arched eyebrows, two acres of cheeks spread with crimson, an ocean of neck that overflowed, and was not distinguished from the lower part of her body, and no part restrained by stays. No wonder that a child dreaded such an ogress." She died 1724. Mahon says: "She was unwieldy in person, and rapacious in character."

Phillimore declares that "George I. brought with him from Hanover mistresses as rapacious, and satellites as ignoble, as those which drew down such deserved obloquy on Charles II. Bothman, Bernstoff, Robethon, and two Turks—Mustapha and Mahomet—meddled more with public affairs, and were to the full as venal as Chiffin, Pepys, and Smith." Mahon, who calls Robethon a "prying impertinent venomous creature," adds that "coming from a poor Electorate, a flight of hungry Hanoverians, like so many famished vultures, fell with keen eyes and bended talons on the fruitful soil of England."

One of the earliest acts of the Whig aristocracy, under George I., was to pass a measure through Parliament lengthening the existence of that very Parliament to seven years, and giving to the King the power to continue all subsequent Parliaments to a like period. The Triennial Parliaments were thus lengthened by a corrupt majority. For the committal of the Septennial Bill there was a majority of seventy-two votes, and it is alleged by the *Westminster Review* "that about eighty-two members of the honorable House had either fingered Walpole's gold, or pocketed the bank notes which, by the purest accident, were left under their plates. . . . In the ten years which preceded the Septennial Act the sum expended in Secret Service money was £537,960. In the ten years which followed the passing of the Septennial Act the sum expended for Secret Service was £1,453,400." The same writer says: "The friends and framers of the Triennial Bill were for the most part Tories, and its opponents for the most part Whigs. The framers and friends of the Bill for long Parliaments were all Whigs, and its enemies all Tories." When the measure came before the Lords we find Baron Bernstoff, on the King's behalf, actually canvassing Peers' wives with promises of places for their relatives, in order to induce them to get their husbands to vote for the Bill. Another of the early infringements of public liberty by the Whig supporters of George I. was the passing (1 Geo. I., stat. 2, c. 5) of the Riot Act, which had not existed from the accession of James I. to the death of Queen Anne. Sir John Hinde Cotton, a few years afterwards,

described this Act, which is still the law of England, as "An Act by which a little dirty justice of the peace, the meanest and vilest tool a minister can use, had it in his power to put twenty or thirty of the best subjects of England to immediate death, without any trial or form but that of reading a proclamation." In order to facilitate the King's desire to spend most of his time in Hanover, the third section of the Act of Settlement was repealed.

Thackeray says: "Delightful as London City was, King George I. liked to be out of it as much as ever he could, and when there, passed all his time with his Germans. It was with them as with Blucher one hundred years afterwards, when the bold old Reiter looked down from St. Paul's and sighed out 'Was fur Plunder!' The German women plundered, the German secretaries plundered, the German cooks and intendants plundered; even Mustapha and Mahomet, the German negroes, had a share of the booty. Take what you can get, was the old monarch's maxim."

There was considerable discontent in the early years of George's reign. Hallam says: "Much of this disaffection was owing to the cold reserve of George I., ignorant of the language, alien to the prejudices of h people, and continually absent in his electoral dominions, to which he seemed to sacrifice the nation's interest. The letters in Cox's Memoirs of Walpole, abundantly show the German nationality, the impolicy and neglect of his duties, the rapacity and petty selfishness of George I. The Whigs were much dissatisfied, but the fear of losing their places made them his slaves." In order to add the duchies of Bremen and Verden to Hanover, in 1716, the King, as Elector, made a treaty with Denmark against Sweden. This treaty proved the source of those continental wars, and the attendant system of subsidies to European Powers, which have in the main created our enormous National Debt. Bremen and Verden being actually purchased for George I., as the Elector of Hanover, with English money, Great Britain, in addition, was pledged by George I. to guarantee Schleswig to Denmark. Sweden and Denmark quarrelling—and George I. as Elector of Hanover having, without the consent of the English Parliament, declared war against Sweden—an English fleet was sent into the Baltic to take up a quarrel with which we had no concern. In addition, we were involved in a quarrel with Russia, because that Power had interfered to prevent Mecklenburg being added to George's Hanoverian estates. The chief mover in this was the notorious Baron Bernstoff, who held some village property in Mecklenburg. In all these complications, Hanover gained, England lost. If Hanover found troops, England paid for them, while the Electorate solely reaped the benefit. Every thoughtful writer admits that English interests were always betrayed to satisfy Hanoverian greed.

The King's fondness for Germany provoked some hostility, and amongst the various squibs issued, one in 1716, from the pen of Samuel Wesley, brother of John Wesley, re-

presents a conversation between George and the Duchess of Kendal:—

"As soon as the wind it came fairly about,
That kept the king in and his enemies out,
He determined no longer confinement to bear;
And thus to the Duchess his mind did declare:

"Quoth he, 'My dear Kenny, I've been tired a long while,
With living obscure in this poor little isle,
And now Spain and Pretender have no more mines to spring,
I'm resolved to go home and live like a king."

The Duchess approves of this, describes and laughs at all the persons nominated for the Council of Regency, and concludes:—

"'On the whole I'll be hanged if all over the realm
There are thirteen such fools to be put to the helm!
So for this time be easy, nor have jealous thought,
They ha'n't sense to sell you, nor are worth being bought.'

"'Tis for that (quoth the King, in very bad French),
I chose them for my regents and you for my wench.
And neither, I'm sure, will my trust e'er betray,
For the devil won't take you if I turn you away."

It was this same Duchess of Kendal who, being the King's mistress, was publicly accused of having received enormous sums of money from the South Sea Company for herself and the King, in order to shield from justice the principal persons connected with those terrible South Sea frauds, by which, in the year 1720, so many families were reduced to misery.

When the "South Sea Bill" was promoted in 1720, wholesale bribery was resorted to. Transfers of stocks were proved to have been made to persons in high office. Two members of the Whig Ministry, Lord Sunderland and Mr. Aislabie, were so implicated that they had to resign their offices, and the last-named, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer, was ignominiously expelled the House of Commons. Royalty itself, or at least the King's sultanas, and several of his German household, shared the spoil. £30,000 were traced to the King's mistresses, and a select committee of the House denounced the whole business as "a train of the deepest villainy and fraud with which hell ever contrived to ruin a nation." Near the close of the reign Lord Macclesfield, Lord Chancellor and favorite and tool of the King, was impeached for extortion and abuse of trust in his office, and, being convicted, was sentenced to pay a fine of £30,000. In 1716 Mademoiselle Schulenberg, then Duchess of Munster, received £5,000 as a bribe for procuring the title of Viscount for Sir Henry St. John. In 1724 the same peeress, bribed by Lord Bolingbroke, successfully used her influence to pass an Act through Parliament restoring him his forfeited estates. Lady Cowper tells us that Mr. Chetwynd, in order to secure his position in the Board of Trade, paid to another of George's mistresses £500 down, agreed to allow he.

£200 a year as long as he held the place, and gave her also the fine brilliant earrings she wore.

In 1717, Mr. Shippen, a member of the House of Commons, was committed to the Tower, for saying in his place in the House, that it was the "infelicity of His Majesty's reign that he is unacquainted with our language and constitution." Lord Macaulay tells us how Lord Carteret, afterwards Earl Granville, rose into favor. The King could speak no English; Carteret was the only one of the Ministry who could speak German. "All the communication that Walpole had with his master was in very bad Latin." The influence Carteret wielded over the King did not, however, extend to every member of the Royal Family. The Princess of Wales afterwards described the Lords Carteret and Bolingbroke as two she had "long known to be two as worthless men of parts as any in the country, and who I have not only been often told are two of the greatest liars and knaves in any country, but whom my own observation and experience have found so."

Under pressure from George I. our standing army was nearly doubled by the Whig Ministry, and this when peace would rather have justified a reduction than an increase. The payments to Hanoverian troops commenced under this king, a payment which William Pitt afterwards earned the enmity of George II. by very sharply denouncing, and which payment was but a step in the system of continental subsidies which helped to swell our national debt.

In this reign the enclosure of waste lands was practically commenced, sixteen enclosure Acts being passed, and 17,660 acres of land enclosed. This example was followed in the next reign with increasing rapidity, 226 enclosure Acts being passed in the reign of George II., under which 318,778 acres of land were enclosed. As Mr. Fawcett states, up to 1845 more than 7,000,000 acres of land, over which the public possessed invaluable rights, have been gradually absorbed, and individuals wielding legislative influence have been enriched at the expense of the public and the poor.

Within six years from his accession the King was about £600,000 in debt, and this sum was the first of a long list of debts discharged by the nation for these Brunswicks. When our ministers to-day talk of obligations on the part of the people to endow each additional member of the Royal Family, the memory of these shameful extravagances should have some effect. George I. had a civil list of £700,000 a year; he received £300,000 from the Royal Exchange Assurance Company, and £300,000 from the London Assurance Companies, and had one million voted to him in 1726 towards payment of his debts.

In 1724 there appeared in Dublin the first of the famous "Drapier Letters," written by Jonathan Swift against Wood's coinage patent. A patent had been granted to a man named Wood for coining halfpence in Ireland. This grant was made under the influence of the Duchess of Kendal, and on the stipu-

lation that she should receive a large share of the profits. These "Drapier Letters" were prosecuted by the Government, but Swift followed them with others; the grand juries refused to find true bills, and ultimately the patent was cancelled. Wood, or the Duchess, got as compensation a grant of a pension of £3,000 a year for eight years.

George died at Osnabrück, on his journey Hanoverwards, in June, 1727, having made a will by which he disposed of his money in some fashion displeasing to his son George II.; and, as the *Edinburgh Review* tells us, the latter "evaded the old King's directions, and got his money by burning his will." In this George II. only followed his Royal father's example. When Sophia Dorothea died she left a will bequeathing her property in a fashion displeasing to George I., who, without scruple, destroyed the testament and appropriated the estate. George I. had also previously burned the will of his father-in-law, the Duke of Zelle. At this time the destruction of a will was a capital felony in England.

The accession of George I. meant the triumph of the Protestant caste in Ireland, and under his rule much was done to render permanent the utter hatred manifested by the Irish people to their English conquerors, who had always preferred the policy of extermination to that of conciliation. Things were so sad in Ireland at the end of this reign that Dean Swift, in bitter mockery, "wrote and published his 'Modest Proposal' for relieving the miseries of the people, by cooking and eating the children of the poor"—"a piece of the fiercest sarcasm," says Mitchell, "steeped in all the concentrated bitterness of his soul." Poor Ireland! she had, at any rate, nothing to endear to her the memory of George I.

CHAPTER III.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE II.

WHEN George I. died there was so little interest or affection exhibited by his son and successor that Sir Robert Walpole, on announcing to George II. that by the demise of his father he had succeeded to regal honors, was saluted with a volley of oaths, and "Dat is one big lie." No pretence of sorrow was even made. George Augustus had hated George Lewis during life, and at the first council, when the will of the late King was produced by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the new monarch simply took it up and walked out of the room with the document, which was never seen again. Thackeray, who pictures George II. as "a dull, little man, of low tastes," says that he "made away with his father's will, under the astonished nose of

the Archbishop of Canterbury." A duplicate of this will having been deposited with the Duke of Brunswick, a large sum of money was paid to that Prince nominally as a subsidy by the English Government for the maintenance of troops, but really as a bribe for surrendering the document. A legacy having been left by this will to Lady Walsingham, threats were held out in 1733, by her then husband, Lord Chesterfield, and £20,000 were paid in compromise.

The eldest son of George II. was Frederick, born in 1706, and who up to 1728 resided permanently in Hanover. Lord Hervey tells us that the King hated his son Frederick, and that the Queen Caroline, his mother, abhorred him. To Lord Hervey the Queen says: "My dear Lord I will give it you under my hand, if you are in any fear of my relapsing, that my dear first-born is the greatest ass, and the greatest liar, and the greatest *canaille*, and the greatest beast in the whole world; and that I most heartily wish he were out of it." Allowing for the royal mother's love for her child this is a tolerably strong description of the father of George III. from the lips of his own mother. Along with this description of Frederick by the Queen, take Thackeray's character of George II., worthy father of worthy son: "Here was one who had neither dignity, learning, morals, nor wit—who tainted a great society by a bad example; who in youth, manhood and old age, was gross, low, and sensual."

In 1705, when only Electoral Prince of Hanover, George had married Caroline, daughter of the Margrave of Anspach, a woman of more than average ability. Thackeray describes Caroline in high terms of praise, but Lord Chesterfield says that "she valued herself upon her skill in simulation and dissimulation. Cunning and perfidy were the means she made use of in business." The Prince of Anspach is alleged by the *Whisperer* to have raised some difficulties as to the marriage, on account of George I. being disposed to deny the legitimacy of his son, and it is further pretended that George I. had actually to make distinct acknowledgment of his son to King William III. before the arrangements for the Act of Settlement were consented to by that King. It is quite clear from the diary of Lady Cowper, that the old King's feelings towards George II. was always one of the most bitter hatred.

The influence exercised by Queen Caroline over George II. was purely political; and Lord Hervey declares that "wherever the interest of Germany and the honor of the empire were concerned, her thoughts and reasoning were as German and Imperial as if England had been out of the question."

A strange story is told of Sir Robert Walpole and Caroline. Sir Robert, when intriguing for office under George I., with Townshend, Devonshire, and others, objected to their plans being communicated to the Prince of Wales, saying, "The fat b——h, his wife, would betray the secret and spoil the project." This courtly speech being made known by some kind friend to the Princess Caroline, considerable hostility was naturally

exhibited. Sir Robert Walpole, who held the doctrine that every person was purchasable, the only question being one of price, managed to purchase peace with Caroline when Queen. When the ministry suspended, "Walpole not fairly out, Compton not fairly in," Sir Robert assured the Queen that he would secure her an annuity of £100,000 in the event of the King's death; Sir Spencer Compton, who was then looked on as likely to be in power, had only offered £60,000. The Queen sent back word, "Tell Sir Robert, the fat b——h has forgiven him," and thenceforth they were political allies until the Queen's death in 1737.

The domestic relations of George II. were marvellous. We pass with little notice Lady Suffolk, Lady-in-waiting to the Queen and mistress to the King, who was sold by her husband for a pension of £1,200 a year, paid by the British taxpayers, and who was coarsely insulted by both their majesties. It is needless to dwell on the confidential communications, in which "that stuttering little sultan George II.," as Thackeray calls him, solicited favors from his wife for his mistress, the Countess of Walmoden; but to use the words of the cultured *Edinburgh Review*, the Queen's "actual intercession to secure for the King the favors of the Duchess of Modena, precludes the idea that these sentiments were as revolting to the royal Philamente as they would now-a-days be to a scavenger's daughter. Nor was the Queen the only lady of the Royal Family who talked openly on these matters. When Lady Suffolk was waning at court, the Princess Royal could find nothing better to say than this: 'I wish with all my heart that he (*i.e.* the King) would take somebody else, that mamma might be relieved from the *ennui* of seeing him for ever in her room.'"

Lady Cowper actually tells us that George II., when Prince of Wales, intrigued with Lady Walpole, not only with the knowledge of the Princess Caroline, but also with connivance of the Prime Minister himself. Lord Hervey adds that Caroline used to sneer at Sir Robert Walpole, asking how the poor man—"*avec ce gros corps, ces jambes enflées et ce vilain ventre*"—could possibly believe that any woman could love him for himself, and that Sir Robert retaliated, when Caroline afterwards complained to him of the King's cross temper, by telling her very coolly that "it was impossible it could be otherwise, since the King had tasted better things," and ended by advising her to bring pretty Lady Tankerville *en rapport* with the King.

In 1727, an Act was passed, directed against workmen in the woollen trade, rendering combination for the purpose of raising wages unlawful. Some years afterwards, this Act was extended to other trades, and the whole tendency of the Septennial Parliament legislation manifested a most unfortunate desire on the part of the Legislature to coerce and keep in subjection the artisan classes.

In February, 1728, the celebrated "Beggar's Opera," by Gay, was put on the stage at the Lincoln's Inn Field's Theatre, and

being supposed to contain some satirical reflections on court-corruption, provoked much displeasure on the part of Royalty. The Duchess of Queensborough, who patronised Gay, being forbidden to attend court, wrote thus: "The Duchess of Queensborough is surprised and well pleased that the King has given her so agreeable a command as forbidding her the court. She hopes that, by so unprecedented an order as this, the King will see as few as she wishes at his court, particularly such as dare speak or think truth." Authors and actors were probably more outspoken in this reign than at any other period of English history.

In 1729, £115,000 was voted by Parliament for the payment of the King's debts. This vote seems to have been obtained under false pretences to benefit the King, whose "cardinal passion," says Phillimore, "was avarice."

The *Craftsman*, during the first decade of the reign, fiercely assailed the Whig Ministry for "a wasteful expenditure of money in foreign subsidies and bribes;" and in his place in the House of Commons William Pitt, "the great Commoner," in the strongest language attacked the system of foreign bribery by which home corruption was supplemented.

The rapidly-increasing expenditure needed increased taxation, and a caricature published in 1732 marks the public feeling. A monster (Excise), in the form of a many-headed dragon, is drawing the Minister (Sir Robert Walpole) in his coach, and pouring into his lap, in the shape of gold, what it has swallowed up in the forms of mutton, hams, cups, glasses, mugs, pipes, &c.

"See this dragon Excise
Has ten thousand eyes,
And five thousand mouths to devour us;
A sting and sharp claws,
With wide gaping jaws,
And a belly as big as a store-house."

Beginning with wines and liquors—

"Grant these and the glutton
Will roar out for mutton,
Your beef, bread, and bacon to boot;
Your goose, pig, and pullet,
He'll thrust down his gullet,
Whilst the laborer munches a root."

In 1730, Mr. Sandys introduced a Bill to disable pensioners from sitting in Parliament. George II. vigorously opposed this measure, which was defeated. In the King's private notes to Lord Townshend, Mr. Sandys' proposed Act is termed a "villainous measure," which should be "torn to pieces in every particular."

It was in 1732 that the Earl of Aylesford, a Tory peer, declared that standing armies in times of peace were "against the

very words of the *Petition of Rights*," and that "the confusions and disorders which have been brought upon this kingdom for many years have been all brought upon it by means of standing armies." In 1733 Earl Strafford affirmed that "a standing army" was "always inconsistent with the liberties of the people," and urged that "where the people have any regard for their liberties they ought never to keep up a greater number of regular forces than are absolutely necessary for the security of the Government." Sir John Barnard declared that the army ought not to be used on political questions. He said: "In a free country, if a tumult happens from a just cause of complaint, the people ought to be satisfied; their grievances ought to be redressed; they ought not surely to be immediately knocked on the head because they may happen to complain in an irregular way." Mr. Pulteney urged that a standing army is "a body of men distinct from the body of the people; they are governed by different laws; blind obedience and an entire submission to the orders of their commanding officer is their only principle. The nations around us are already enslaved by those very means; by means of their standing armies they have every one lost their liberties; it is indeed impossible that the liberties of the people can be preserved in a country where a numerous standing army is kept up."

In 1735 sixteen Scottish peers were elected to the House of Lords, and in a petition to Parliament it was alleged that the whole of these sixteen peers were elected by bribery and corruption. The petition positively asserted "that the list of sixteen peers for Scotland had been formed by persons high in trust under the Crown previous to the election itself. The peers were solicited to vote for this list without the liberty of making any alteration, and endeavors were used to engage peers to vote for this list by promise of pensions and offices, civil and military, to themselves and their relations, and by actual promise and offers of sums of money. Several had received money, and releases of debts owing to the Crown were granted to those who voted for this list. To render this transaction more infamous, a battalion of troops occupied the Abbey Court of Edinburgh, and continued there during the whole time of the election, while there was a considerable body lying within a mile of the city ready to advance on the signal." This petition, notwithstanding the gravity of its allegations, was quietly suppressed.

Lady Sandon, Woman of the Bedchamber and Mistress of the Robes to Queen Caroline, received from Lord Pomfret jewellery of £1,400 value, for obtaining him the appointment of Master of the Horse.

With a Civil List of £800,000 a year, George II. was continually in debt, but an obedient Ministry and a corrupt Parliament never hesitated to discharge his Majesty's obligations out of the pockets of the unrepresented people. Lord Carteret, in 1733, speaking of a Bill before the House for granting the King half-a-million out of the Sinking Fund, said: "This Fund, my

Lords, has been clandestinely defrauded of several small sums at different times, which indeed together amount to a pretty large sum; but by this Bill it is to be openly and avowedly plundered of £500,000 at once."

On the 27th of April, 1736, Prince Frederick was married to the Princess Augusta, of Saxe Gotha, whom King George II. afterwards described as "*cette diablesse Madame la Princesse.*" In August of the same year a sharp open quarrel took place between the Prince of Wales and his parents, which, after some resumptions of pretended friendliness, ended on September 10th, 1737, in the former being ordered by the King to quit St. James's Palace, where he was residing. On the 22nd of the preceding February, Pulteney had moved for an allowance of £100,000 a year to Prince Frederick. George II. refused to consent, on the ground that the responsibility to provide for the Prince of Wales rested with himself, and that "it would be highly indecorous to interfere between father and son." On the Prince of Wales taking up his residence at Norfolk House, "the King issued an order that no persons who paid their court to the Prince and Princess should be admitted to his presence." An official intimation of this was given to foreign ambassadors.

On the 20th of November, 1737, Queen Caroline died, never having spoken to her son since the quarrel. "She was," says Walpole, "implacable in hatred even to her dying moments. She absolutely refused to pardon, or even to see, her son." The death-bed scene is thus spoken of by Thackeray: "There never was such a ghastly farce." As sketched by Lord Hervey, it is a monstrous mixture of religion, disgusting comedy, and brutishness: "We are shocked in the very chamber of death by the intrusion of egoism, vanity, buffoonery, and inhumanity. The King is at one moment dissolved in a mawkish tenderness, at another sunk into brutal apathy. He is at one moment all tears for the loss of one who united the softness and amiability of one sex to the courage and firmness of the other; at another all fury because the object of his regrets cannot swallow, or cannot change her posture, or cannot animate the glassy fixedness of her eyes; at one moment he begins an elaborate panegyric on her virtues, then breaks off into an enumeration of his own, by which he implies that her heart has been enthralled and her intelligence awed. He then breaks off into a stupid story about a storm, for which his daughter laughs at him, and then, while he is weeping over his consort's death-bed, she advises him to marry again; and we are—what the Queen was not—startled by the strange reply, '*Non, j'aurai des maîtresses,*' with the faintly-moaned-out rejoinder, '*Cela n'empêche pas.*'" So does the *Edinburgh Reviewer*, following Lord Hervey, paint the dying scene of the Queen of our second George.

After the death of the Queen, the influence of the King's Mistress became supreme, and Sir R. Walpole, who in losing Queen Caroline had lost his greatest hold over George, paid court to Lady Walmoden, in order to maintain his weakened

influence. In the private letters of the Pelham family, who succeeded to power soon after Walpole's fall, we find frequent mention of the Countess of Yarmouth as a power to be gained, a person to stand well with. "I read," says Thackeray, "that Lady Yarmouth (my most religious and gracious King's favorite) sold a bishopric to a clergyman for £5,000. (He betted her £5,000 that he would not be made a bishop, and he lost, and paid her.) Was he the only prelate of his time led up by such hands for consecration? As I peep into George II.'s St. James's I see crowds of cassocks rustling up the back-stairs of the ladies of the Court; stealthy clergy slipping purses into their laps; that godless old King yawning under his canopy in his Chapel Royal, as the chaplain before him is discoursing."

On the 23rd of May, 1738, George William Frederick, son of Frederick, and afterwards George III., was born.

In 1739 Lady Walmoden, who had up to this year remained in Hanover, was brought to England and formally installed at the English Court. In this year we bound ourselves by treaty to pay 250,000 dollars per annum for three years to the Danish Government. "The secret motive of this treaty," says Mahon, "as of too many others, was not English, but Hanoverian, and regarded the possession of a petty castle and lordship called Steinhorst. This castle had been bought from Holstein by George II. as Elector of Hanover, but the Danes claiming the sovereignty, a skirmish ensued. The well-timed treaty of subsidy calmed their resentment, and obtained the cession of their claim." Many urged, as in truth it was, that Steinhorst was bought with British money, and Bolingbroke expressed his fear "that we shall throw the small remainder of our wealth where we have thrown so much already, into the German Gulf, which cries Give! Give! and is never satisfied."

On the 19th of May, 1739, in accordance with the wish of the King, war was declared with Spain, nominally on the question of the right of search; but when peace was declared at Aix-la-Chapelle, this subject was never mentioned. According to Dr. Colquhoun, this war cost the country £46,418,680. The actual naval and military expenditure during the war was £62,077,642.

George II. was continually in Hanover. From 1729 to 1731, again in 1735 and 1736, and eight times between 1740 and 1755. In 1745 he wished to go, but was not allowed.

On the 2nd of October, 1741 (the Pelham family having managed to acquire power by dint, as Lord Macaulay puts it, of more than suspected treason to their leader and colleague), the Duke of Newcastle, then Prime Minister, wrote his brother, Henry Pelham, as follows: "I must freely own to you that I think the King's unjustifiable partiality for Hanover, to which he makes all other wishes and considerations subservient, has manifested itself so much that no man can continue in the active part of the administration with honor." The Duke goes on to describe the King's policy as "both dishonorable and fatal;" and Henry Pelham, on the 8th of October, writes him back that

"a partiality to Hanover in general is what all men of business have found great obstructions from, ever since this family have been upon the throne." Yet these are amongst the most prominent of the public defenders of the House of Brunswick, and belong to a family which reaped great place and profit from the connection.

Of the Duke of Newcastle Lord Macaulay says: "No man was so unmercifully satirised. But in truth he was himself a satire ready made. All that the art of the satirist does for other men nature had done for him. Whatever was absurd about him stood out with grotesque prominence from the rest of the character. He was a living, moving, talking caricature. His gait was a shuffling trot, his utterance a rapid stutter; he was always in a hurry; he was never in time; he abounded in fulsome caresses and in hysterical tears. His oratory resembled that of Justice Shallow. It was nonsense, effervescent with animal spirits and impertinence. Of his ignorance many anecdotes remain, some well authenticated, some probably invented at coffee-houses, but all exquisitely characteristic. 'Oh! yes, yes, to be sure! Annapolis must be defended; troops must be sent to Annapolis. Pray where is Annapolis?' 'Cape Breton, an island! Wonderful! show it me in the map. So it is, sure enough. My dear sir, you always bring us good news. I must go and tell the King that Cape Breton is an island.' And this man was, during near thirty years, Secretary of State, and during near ten years First Lord of the Treasury! His large fortune, his strong hereditary connexion, his great Parliamentary interest, will not alone explain this extraordinary fact. His success is a signal instance of what may be effected by a man who devotes his whole heart and soul without reserve to one object. He was eaten up by ambition. His love of influence and authority resembled the avarice of the old usurer in the 'Fortunes of Nigel.' It was so intense a passion that it supplied the place of talents, that it inspired even fatuity with cunning. 'Have no money dealings with my father,' says Martha to Lord Glenvarloch, 'for dotard as he is, he will make an ass of you.' It was as dangerous to have any political connexion with Newcastle as to buy and sell with old Trapbois. He was greedy after power with a greediness all his own. He was jealous of all colleagues, and even of his own brother. Under the disguise of levity, he was false beyond all example of political falsehood. All the able men of his time ridiculed him as a dunce, a driveller, a child who never knew his own mind for an hour together; and he over-reached them all round."

In 1742, under the opposition of Pulteney, the Tories called upon Paxton, the Solicitor to the Treasury, and Scrope, the Secretary to the Treasury, to account for the specific sum of £1,147,211, which it was proved they had received from the minister. No account was ever furnished. George Vaughan, a confidant of Sir Robert Walpole, was examined before the Commons as to a practice charged upon that minister, of obliging

the possessor of a place or office to pay a certain sum out of the profits of it to some person or persons recommended by the minister. Vaughan, who does not appear to have ventured any direct denial, managed to avoid giving a categorical reply, and to get excused from answering on the ground that he might criminate himself. Agitation was commenced for the revival of Triennial Parliaments, for the renewal of the clause of the Act of Settlement, by which pensioners and placemen were excluded from the House of Commons, and for the abolition of standing armies in time of peace. The Whigs, however, successfully crushed out the whole of this agitation. Strong language was heard in the House of Commons, where Sir James Dashwood said that "it was no wonder that the people were then unwilling to support the Government, when a weak, narrow-minded prince occupied the throne."

A very amusing squib appeared in 1742, when Sir Robert Walpole's power was giving way, partly under the bold attacks of the Tories, led by Cotton and Shippen; partly before the malcontent Whigs, under the guidance of Carteret and Pultency; partly before the rising power of the young England party led by William Pitt; and somewhat from the jealousy, if not treachery of his colleague, the Duke of Newcastle. The squib pictures the King's embarrassment and anger at being forced to dismiss Walpole, and to Carteret whom he has charged to form a ministry:—

"Quoth the King: 'My good lord, perhaps you've been told
That I used to abuse you a little of old;
But now bring whom you will, and eke turn away,
Let but me and my money at Walmoden stay.'"

Lord Carteret explaining to the King whom he shall keep of the old ministry includes the Duke of Newcastle:—

"Though Newcastle's false, as he's silly I know,
By betraying old Robin to me long ago,
As well as all those who employed him before,
Yet I leave him in place, but I leave him no power.

"For granting his heart is as black as his hat,
With no more truth in this than there's sense beneath that.
Yet, as he's a coward, he'll shake when I frown;
You call'd him a rascal, I'll use him like one.

"For your foreign affairs, howe'er they turn out,
At least I'll take care that you shall make a great rout;
Then cock your great hat, strut, bounce, and look bluff,
For though kick'd and cuff'd here, you shall there kick and cuff.

"That Walpole did nothing they all used to say,
So I'll do enough, but I'll make the dogs pay;
Great fleets I'll provide, and great armies engage,
Whate'er debts we make, or whate'er wars we wage!

"With cordials like these the monarch's new guest
Reviv'd his sunk spirits, and gladden'd his breast;
Till in rapture he cried, 'My dear Lord you shall do
Whatever you will—give me troops to review.'"

In 1743, King George II. actually tried to engage this country, by a private agreement, to pay £300,000 a year to the Queen of Hungary, "as long as war should continue, or the necessity of her affairs should require." The King, being in Hanover, sent over the treaty to England, with a warrant directing the Lords Justices to "ratify and confirm it," which, however, they refused to do. On hearing that the Lord Chancellor refused to sanction the arrangement, King George II. threatened, through Earl Granville, to affix the great seal with his own hand. Ultimately the £300,000 per annum was agreed to be paid so long as the war lasted, but this sum was in more than one instance exceeded.

Although George II. had induced the country to vote such large sums to Maria Theresa, the Empress-Queen, he nevertheless abandoned her in a most cowardly manner when he thought his Hanoverian dominions in danger, and actually treated with France without the knowledge or consent of his Ministry. A rhyming squib, in which the King is termed the "Balancing Captain," from which we present the following extracts, will serve to show the feeling widely manifested in England at that time:

"I'll tell you a story as strange as 'tis new,
Which all who're concern'd will allow to be true,
Of a Balancing Captain, well-known hereabouts,
Returned home (God save him) a mere king of clouts.

"This Captain he takes in a *gold* ballasted ship,
Each summer to *terra damnosa* a trip,
For which he begs, borrows, scrapes all he can get,
And runs his poor *owners* most vilely in debt.

"The last time he set out for this blessed place,
He met them, and told them a most piteous case
Of a sister of his, who, though bred up at court,
Was ready to perish for want of support.

"This *Hung'ry* sister he then did pretend
Would be to his owners a notable friend,
If they would at that critical juncture supply her:
They did—but, alas! all the fat's in the fire."

The ballad then suggests that the King, having got all the money possible, made a peace with the enemies of the Queen of Hungary, described in the ballad as the sister:

"He then turns his sister adrift, and declares
Her most mortal foes were her father's right heirs;
'G—d z—ds!' cried the world, 'such a step was ne'er taken!'
Oh, oh!' says Moll Bluff, 'I have saved my own bacon.

'Let France damn the Germans, and undamn the Dutch,
And Spain on Old England pish ever so much;
Let Russia bang Sweden, or Sweden bang that,
I care not, by *Robert, one kick of my hat!*

'Or should my chous'd owners begin to look sour,
I'll trust to *mate Bob* to exert his old power."

The British nation, described as the owners, are cautioned to look into the accounts of their Captain, who is bringing them to insolvency:—

"This secret, however, must out on the day
When he meets his poor owners to ask for his pay;
And I fear, when they come to adjust the account,
A zero for balance will prove their amount."

The final result of all these subsidy votes was to increase our national debt, up to the signing of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, to £76,000,000; while the Seven Years' War, which came later, brought the debt to £133,000,000, not including in this the capitalised value of the terminable annuities.

On November 22nd, 1743, a caricature was published, which had a wide sale, and which represented the King as a fat Hanoverian white horse riding to death a nearly starved British lion.

In 1744, £200,000 was voted, which King George and Lord Carteret, who was called by William Pitt his "Hanoverian troop minister," had agreed to give the King of Sardinia. £440,000 was also voted for a payment made by the King to the Duke of Arenberg. This payment was denounced by Mr. Lyttelton as a dangerous misapplication of public money.

The votes for foreign subsidies alone, in 1744, were £691,426, while the Hanoverian soldiers cost us £393,773. The King actually tried in addition in the month of August to get a further subsidy for his friend the Elector of Saxony, and another for the King of Poland, and this when Englishmen and Irishmen were lacking bread. Nor was even a pretence made in some instances of earning the money. £150,000 was paid this year to keep Prince Charles in Alsace, and the moment Austria got the money Prince Charles was withdrawn; and Henry Pelham, writing to the Duke of Newcastle, says: "The same will be the case with every sum of money we advance. The allies will take it, and then act as suits their convenience and security." In the four years from 1744 to 1747, both included, we paid £4,342,683 for foreign troops and subsidies, not including the Dutch and Hessians, hired to put down the rebellion of 1745. In the whole of this war, in which we subsidised all our allies except the Dutch, it is clear that the direct and sole blame rests upon the King, who cared nothing for English interests in the matter. When firmly remonstrated with by Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, his reply was what the Duke of Newcastle describes as "almost sullen silence."

For the rebellion of 1745—which came so near being successful, and which would have thoroughly succeeded had the Pre-

tender's son possessed any sort of ability as a leader—there is little room to spare here. The attempt to suppress it in its early stages is thus described in a Jacobite ballad:—

"Horse, foot, and dragoons, from lost Flanders they call,
With Hessians and Danes, and the Devil and all;
And hunters and rangers led by Oglethorpe;
And the Church at the bum of the Bishop of York.
And, pray, who so fit to lead forth this parade
As the babe of Tanger, my old grandmother Wade?
Whose cunning's so quick, but whose motion's so slow,
That the rebels marched on while he stuck in the snow."

The hideously disgusting cruelties and horrible excesses committed by the infamous Duke of Cumberland, and the Hessians and Hanoverians under his command, in suppressing the rebellion after the battle of Culloden, are too well known. Duncan Forbes, Lord President of the Court of Session, and a warm supporter of the Brunswicks, remonstrating with the Duke as to the latter's disregard of the laws of the country, his Royal Highness of Cumberland replied with an oath: "The laws of my country, my lord; I'll make a brigade give laws." Scotland has many reasons for loving the House of Brunswick. There was but little love between the Royal Princes. Lord Waldegrave, who strove hard to whitewash the Duke of Cumberland, says that "Frederick Prince of Wales gave too much credit to the most malignant and groundless accusations, by showing favor to every man who aspersed his brother's character."

In 1747, £456,734 was voted by Parliament for the payment of the King's debts.

In 1748 considerable difficulty arose in consequence of the King's intrigues to obtain, at the expense of England, the Bishopric of Osnaburg as a princely establishment for his favorite son the Duke of Cumberland, that pious prince, much esteemed in Scotland as the "butcher." The most open hostility was manifested between the Duke of Cumberland and Prince Frederick, and pamphleteering attacks on the former, for his brutality and excesses, were supposed to be encouraged by the Leicester House party.

Amongst the curious scandals of 1749, it is stated that the King—being present at a masked ball, at which Elizabeth Chudleigh, afterwards Duchess of Kingston, figured as "La Belle Sauvage" in a close-fitting dress of flesh-colored silk—requested permission to place his hand on Miss Chudleigh's breast. The latter replied that she would put the King's hand on a still softer place, and immediately raised it to his own royal forehead.

On the 20th of March, 1758, Frederick Prince of Wales died. The King, who received the news while playing cards with his mistress, Lady Yarmouth, and who had not spoken to his son for years, merely said, "Freddy is dead." On this subject Thackeray preserves for us the following epitaph:—

"Here lies Fred,
Who was alive, and is dead.
Had it been his father,
I had much rather.
Had it been his brother,
Still better than another.
Had it been his sister,
No one would have missed her,
Had it been the whole generation.
Still better for the nation.
But since 'tis only Fred,
Who was alive and is dead,
There's no more to be said."

In 1755, there was the second war, the military expenditure for which was £104,611,374. In this George II. pursued exactly the opposite course of policy to that taken by him in the previous one. The war during the years following 1739 was for the humiliation of the King of Prussia; the policy in the last war was to prevent his humiliation. Mr. Baxter estimates the debt (exclusive of annuities) at £133,000,000: Dr. Colquhoun, adding the value of the annuities, makes it £146,682,843 at the conclusion of this war.

Towards the close of the reign of George II., who died on October 25th, 1760, his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, by an exhibition of great strategy, combined with much discretionary valor, succeeded in making peace on terms which ensured the repose of himself and his Hanoverian forces during the remainder of the war. At home his Royal Highness was much attacked, some venturing to describe his personal conduct as cowardly and his generalship as contemptible. It is a sufficient refutation of such a calumny to say that the Duke of Cumberland was as brave a soldier and as able a general as our present Commander-in-Chief, his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge.

Lord Waldegrave, who wrote in favor of George II., admits that the King "is accused by his ministers of being hasty and passionate when any measure is proposed which he does not approve of." That "too great attention to money seems to be his capital failing." And that "his political courage seems somewhat problematical." Phillimore puts it more strongly: "In public life he was altogether indifferent to the welfare of England, except as it affected his electorate's or his own. Always purchasing concubines, he was always governed by his wife. In private life he was a gross lover, an unreasonable master, a coarsely unfaithful husband, an unnatural parent, and a selfish man."

No more fitting conclusion can be found to this chapter than the following pregnant words from Macaulay: "At the close of the reign of George II. the feeling of aversion with which the House of Brunswick had long been regarded by half the nation had died away; but no feeling of affection to that House had yet

sprung up. There was little indeed, in the old King's character to inspire esteem or tenderness. He was not our countryman. He never set foot on our soil till he was more than thirty years old. His speech betrayed his foreign origin and breeding. His love for his native land, though the most amiable part of his character, was not likely to endear him to his British subjects. He was never so happy as when he could exchange St. James's for Heranhausen. Year after year our fleets were employed to convoy him to the Continent, and the interests of his kingdom were as nothing to him when compared with the interests of his Electorate. As to the rest, he had neither the qualities which makes dullness respectable, nor the qualities which make libertinism attractive. He had been a bad son and a worse father, an unfaithful husband and an ungrateful lover. Not one magnanimous or humane action is recorded of him, but many instances of meanness, and of a harshness which, but for the strong constitutional restraints under which he was placed, might have made the misery of his people."

CHAPTER IV.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE III.

WHEN George II. died his grandson and successor, George III., was twenty-two years of age. The Civil List of the new King was fixed at £800,000 a year—"a provision," says Phillimore, in his "History of England," "that soon became inadequate to the clandestine purposes of George III., and for the purchase of the mercenary dependents, on the support of whom his unconstitutional proceedings obliged him to depend." The Civil List of George III. was not, however, really so large as that of her present Majesty. The Civil List disbursements included such items as Secret Service, now charged separately; pensions and annuities, now charged separately; diplomatic salaries, now forming distinct items; fees and salaries of ministers and judges, now forming no part of the charge against the Civil List. So that though £924,041 was the Civil List of George III. four years after he ascended the throne, in truth to-day the Royal Family alone get much more than all the great offices and machinery of State then cost. The Royal Family alone at the present time get from the country, avowedly and secretly, that is either paid to them or paid for them, a sum exceeding that allowed to George I. for the whole Civil Government.

"At the accession of George III.," writes Thackeray, "the Patricians were yet at the height of their own fortune. Society recognised their superiority, which they themselves pretty calmly took for granted. They inherited not only titles and estates, and seats in the House of Peers, but seats in the House of Commons.

There were a multitude of Government places, and not merely these, but bribes of actual £500 notes, which members of the House took not much shame in assuming. Fox went into Parliament at twenty, Pitt was just of age, his father not much older. It was the good time for Patricians."

A change of political parties was imminent; Whig rule had lasted seventy years, and England had become tolerably disgusted with the consequences.

"Now that George II. was dead," says Macaulay, "a courtier might venture to ask why England was to become a party in a dispute between two German powers. What was it to her whether the House of Hapsburg or the House of Brandenberg ruled in Silesia? Why were the best English regiments fighting on the Maine? Why were the Prussian battalions paid with English gold? The great minister seemed to think it beneath him to calculate the price of victory. As long as the Tower guns were fired, as the streets were illuminated, as French banners were carried in triumph through London, it was to him matter of indifference to what extent the public burdens were augmented. Nay, he seemed to glory in the magnitude of those sacrifices which the people, fascinated by his eloquence and success, had too readily made, and would long and bitterly regret. There was no check on waste or embezzlement. Our commissaries returned from the camp of Prince Ferdinand, to buy boroughs, to rear palaces, to rival the magnificence of the old aristocracy of the realm. Already had we borrowed, in four years of war, more than the most skilful and economical government would pay in forty years of peace."

The Church allied itself with the Tories, who assumed the reins of government, and thenceforth totally forgot the views of liberty they had maintained when in opposition. The policy of all their succeeding legislation was that of mischievous retrogession; they sought to excel the old Whigs in their efforts to consolidate the aristocracy at the expense of the people.

"This reactionary movement," Buckle declares, "was greatly aided by the personal character of George III.; for he, being despotic as well as superstitious, was equally anxious to extend the prerogative, and strengthen the Church. Every liberal sentiment, everything approaching to reform—nay, even the mere mention of inquiry, was an abomination in the eyes of that narrow and ignorant Prince. Without knowledge, without taste, without even a glimpse of one of the sciences, or a feeling for one of the fine arts, education had done nothing to enlarge a mind which nature had more than usually contracted. Totally ignorant of the history and resources of foreign countries, and barely knowing their geographical position, his information was scarcely more extensive respecting the people over whom he was called to rule. In that immense mass of evidence now extant, and which consists of every description of private correspondence, records of private conversation, and of public acts, there is not to be found the slightest proof that he knew

any one of those numerous things which the governor of a country ought to know; or indeed that he was acquainted with a single duty of his position, except the mere mechanical routine of ordinary business, which might have been effected by the lowest clerk in the meanest office in his kingdom.

"He gathered round his throne that great party, who, clinging to the tradition of the past have always made it their boast to check the progress of their age. During the sixty years of his reign he, with the sole exception of Pitt, never willingly admitted to his councils a single man of great ability; not one whose name is associated with any measure of value, either in domestic or foreign policy. Even Pitt only maintained his position in the State by forgetting the lessons of his illustrious father, and abandoning those liberal principles in which he had been educated, and with which he entered public life. Because George III. hated the idea of reform, Pitt not only relinquished what he had before declared to be absolutely necessary, but did not hesitate to persecute to death the party with whom he had once associated in order to obtain it. Because George III. looked upon slavery as one of those good old customs which the wisdom of his ancestors had consecrated, Pitt did not dare to use his power for procuring its abolition, but left to his successors the glory of destroying that infamous trade, on the preservation of which his Royal master had set his heart. Because George III. detested the French, of whom he knew as much as he knew of the inhabitants of Kamschatka or Thibet, Pitt, contrary to his own judgment, engaged in a war with France, by which England was seriously imperilled, and the English people burdened with a debt that their remotest posterity will be unable to pay. But, notwithstanding all this, when Pitt, only a few years before his death, showed a determination to concede to the Irish a small share of their undoubted rights, the King dismissed him from office, and the King's friends, as they were called, expressed their indignation at the presumption of a minister who could oppose the wishes of so benign and gracious a master. And when, unhappily for his own fame, this great man determined to return to power, he could only recover office by conceding that very point for which he had relinquished it; thus setting the mischievous example of the minister of a free country sacrificing his own judgment to the personal prejudices of the reigning sovereign. As it was hardly possible to find other ministers who to equal abilities would add equal subservience, it is not surprising that the highest offices were constantly filled with men of notorious incapacity. Indeed, the King seemed to have an instinctive antipathy to everything great and noble. During the reign of George II. the elder Pitt had won for himself a reputation which covered the world, and had carried to an unprecedented height the glories of the English name. He, however, as the avowed friend of popular rights, strenuously opposed the despotic principles of the Court; and for this reason he was hated by George III. with a hatred that seemed barely compatible with a sane

mind. Fox was one of the greatest statesmen of the eighteenth century, and was better acquainted than any other with the character and resources of those foreign nations with which our interests were intimately connected. To this rare and important knowledge he added a sweetness and amenity of temper which extorted the praises of even his political opponents. But he, too, was the steady supporter of civil and religious liberty; and he, too, was so detested by George III. that the King, with his own hand struck his name out of the list of Privy Councillors, and declared that he would rather abdicate the throne than admit him to a share in the Government.

"While this unfavorable change was taking place in the sovereign and ministers of the country, a change equally unfavorable was being effected in the second branch of the Imperial Legislature. Until the reign of George III. the House of Lords was decidedly superior to the House of Commons in the liberality and general accomplishments of its members. It is true that in both Houses there prevailed a spirit which must be called narrow and superstitious if tried by the larger standard of the present age.

"The superiority of the Upper House over the Lower was on the whole steadily maintained during the reign of George II., the ministers not being anxious to strengthen the High Church party in the Lords, and the King himself so rarely suggesting fresh creations as to cause a belief that he particularly disliked increasing their numbers. It was reserved for George III., by an unsparing use of his prerogative, entirely to change the character of the Upper House, and thus lay the foundation for that disrepute into which, since then, the peers have been constantly falling. The creations he made were numerous beyond all precedent, their object evidently being to neutralise the liberal spirit hitherto prevailing, and thus turn the House of Lords into an engine for resisting the popular wishes, and stopping the progress of reform. How completely this plan succeeded is well-known to the readers of our history; indeed, it was sure to be successful considering the character of the men who were promoted. They consisted almost entirely of two classes—of country gentlemen, remarkable for nothing but their wealth, and the number of votes their wealth enabled them to control; and of mere lawyers, who had risen to judicial appointments partly from their professional learning, but chiefly from the zeal with which they repressed the popular liberties, and favored the Royal prerogative.

"That this is no exaggerated description may be ascertained by any one who will consult the lists of the new peers made by George III.

"Here and there we find an eminent man, whose public services were so notorious that it was impossible to avoid rewarding them; but putting aside those who were in a manner forced upon the Sovereign, it would be idle to deny that the remainder, and of course the overwhelming majority, were marked by a

narrowness and illiberality of sentiment which, more than anything else, brought the whole order into contempt. No great thinkers, no great writers, no great orators, no great statesmen, none of the true nobility of the land, were to be found among the spurious nobles created by George III."

In the early part of his reign, George III. (whom even the courtly Alison pictures as having "little education, and no great acquired information") was very much under the influence of his mother, who had, previously to his being King, often spoken of her son with contempt. The Princess of Wales, in turn, was almost entirely guided by Lord Bute, represented by scandal, says Macaulay, as "her favored lover." "Of this attachment," Dr. Doran tells us "the Prince of Wales himself is said to have had full knowledge, and did not object to Lord Bute taking solitary walks with the Princess, while *he* could do the same with Lady Middlesex." The most infamous stories were circulated in the *Whisperer*, and other journals of the time, as to the nature of the association between the Scotch Peer and the King's mother and its results. Phillimore regards the Princess of Wales as "before and after her husband's death the mistress of Lord Bute." The Princess Dowager seems to have been a hard woman. Walpole tells us how, when the Princess Dowager reproved one of her maids of honor for irregular habits, the latter replied, "*Madame, chacun a son But.*" "Seeing," says Thackeray, "the young Duke of Gloucester silent and unhappy once, she sharply asked him the cause of his silence. 'I am thinking,' said the poor child. 'Thinking, Sir! and of what?' 'I am thinking, if ever I have a son, I will not make him so unhappy as you make me.'"

John Stuart, Earl of Bute, shared with William Pitt and John Wilkes the bulk of popular attention during the first ten years of the King's reign. Bute had risen rapidly to favor, having attracted the attention of the Princess Dowager at some private theatricals, and he became by her influence Groom of the Stole. His poverty and ambition made him grasp at power, both against the great Commoner and the Pelham faction; and a lady observer described the great question of the day in 1760, as being whether the King would burn in his chamber *Scotch* coal, *Newcastle* coal, or *Pitt* coal. Macaulay, who seems to have followed Lord Waldegrave's "Memoirs," says of Bute: "A handsome leg was among his chief qualifications for the stage. . . . His understanding was narrow, his manners cold and haughty." His qualifications for the part of a statesman were best described by Prince Frederick, who often indulged in the princely luxury of sneering at his dependents. "Bute," said his Royal Highness, "you are the very man to be envoy at some small, proud German Court, where there is nothing to do." Phillimore speaks of Lord Bute as a "minion raised by Court favor to a post where his ignorance, mean understanding, and his disregard of English honor, became national calamities."

The King's speech on his accession is said to have been

drawn up by Bute, who did not then belong to the Council; but the terms being vehemently objected to by Pitt, it was actually altered after it had been spoken, and before it found its way to the printer.

Whatever were the relations between Lord Bute and the Princess Dowager, it is quite certain that on more than one occasion George III. condescended not only to prevaricate, but to downright lie as to the influence exercised by Lord Bute. It is certain, from the "Memoirs" of Earl Waldegrave and other trustworthy sources, that the Scotch Earl, after being hissed out of office by the people, was still secretly consulted by the King, who, like the true Royal Brunswick, did not hesitate to use falsehoods on the subject even to his own ministers. Phillimore, in remarkably strong language, describes George III. as an "ignorant, dishonest, obstinate, narrow-minded boy, at that very moment the tool of an adultress and her paramour." The Duke of Bedford has put upon record, in his correspondence, not only his conviction that the King behaved unfaithfully to his ministers, but asserts that he told him so to his face.

In 1759, George was married to Hannah Lightfoot, a Quakeress, in Curzon Street Chapel, May Fair, in the presence of his brother, Edward Duke of York. Great doubt has, however, been cast on the fact as well as the legality of this marriage. It would, if in all respects valid, have rendered null, as a bigamous contract, the subsequent marriage entered into by the King. Dr. Doran alleges that the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV., when needing money in later years, used this Lightfoot marriage as a threat against his Royal parents—that is, that he threatened to expose his mother's shame and his own illegitimacy if the Queen would not use her influence with Pitt. Glorious family these Brunswicks! Walpole affirms that early in his reign, George III., admitted to his uncle, the Duke of Cumberland, "that it had not been common in their family to live well together."

On the 18th of September, 1761, George was married to the Princess Charlotte Sophia, of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, Hannah Lightfoot being still living. Of the new Queen, Phillimore, says. "If to watch over the education of her children and to promote their happiness be any part of a woman's duty, she has little claim to the praises that have been so lavishly bestowed on her as a model of domestic virtue. Her religion was displayed in the scrupulous observance of external forms. Repulsive in her aspect, grovelling in her instincts, sordid in her habits; steeped, from the cradle, in the stupid pride which was the atmosphere of her stolid and most insignificant race; inexorably severe to those who yielded to temptation from which she was protected, not more by her situation and the vigilance of those around her, than by the extreme homeliness of her person; bigoted, avaricious, unamiable to brutality, she added dulness and gloom even to the English court."

In 1761, the Duke of Bedford was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; that unfortunate country, for centuries governed by men who

tried to exterminate its native population, and used under the first three reigns of the House of Brunswick as a sponge out of which, regardless of much bloodshed and more misery, gold could be squeezed for the dependents and relatives of aristocrats in office. His reign of office in Ireland was brief. Walpole says that "the ill-humor of the country determined the Duke of Bedford to quit the Government, after having amply gratified his family and dependents with pensions." It was this Duke of Bedford who consented that the Princess of Hesse should have a pension of £6,000 a year out of the Irish revenue, and who gave to his own relative, the Lady Betty Waldegrave, £800 a-year from the same source. Shortly after this, Prince Charles of Strelitz, the Queen's brother, received £30,000 towards the payment of the debts he owed in Germany. This £30,000 was nominally given by the King out of the Civil List, but was really paid by the nation when discharging the Civil List debts which it increased. On the motion of Lord Barrington, £400,000 subsidy was granted this year to the Landgrave of Hesse, under a secret treaty made by George II., without the knowledge or consent of Parliament, and £300,000 was also voted to the Chancery of Hanover for forage for Hanoverian, Prussian and Hessian Cavalry.

On August 12th, 1762, George Prince of Wales was born; and in the same year, with the direct connivance of George III., the Peace of Paris was made: a peace as disgraceful to England, under the circumstances, as can be possibly imagined. Lord Bute, who was roundly charged with receiving money from France for his services, and this with the knowledge of the mother of George III., most certainly communicated to the French minister "the most secret councils of the English cabinet." This was done with the distinct concurrence of George III., who was himself bribed by the immediate evacuation of his Hanoverian dominions. In the debate in the Lords on the preliminaries of peace, Horace Walpole tells us that "the Duke of Grafton, with great weight and greater warmth, attacked them severely. and looking full on Lord Bute, imputed to him corruption and worse arts." Count Virri, the disreputable agent employed in this matter by the King and Lord Bute, was rewarded under the false name of George Charles with a pension of £1,000 a year out of the Irish revenues. Phillimore may well declare that Lord Bute was "a minion, raised by court favor to a post where his ignorance, mean understanding, and disregard of English honor, became national calamities." To carry the approval of this peace of Paris through the Commons, Fox, afterwards Lord Holland, was purchased with a most lucrative appointment, although only shortly before he had published a print of George, with the following lines, referring to the Princess Dowager and Lord Bute, written under the likeness:—

"Son of a ————
I could say more."

To gain a majority in the House of Commons, Walpole tells us "that a shop was publicly opened at the pay office, whither the members flocked and received the wages of their venality in bank bills even to so low a sum as £200, for their votes on the treaty. £25,000 was thus issued in one morning." Lord Chesterfield speaks of the large sums disbursed by the King "for the hire of Parliament men."

As an illustration of the unblushing corruption of the age, the following letter from Lord Saye and Sele to Mr. Grenville, then Prime Minister of England, tells its own tale:—

"November 26th, 1763.

"HONORED SIR,—I am very much obliged to you for that freedom of converse you this morning indulged me in, which I prize more than the lucrative advantage I then received. To show the sincerity of my words (pardon, Sir, the over-niceness of my disposition), I return enclosed the bill for £300 you favored me with, as good manners would not permit my refusal of it when tendered by you.

"Your most obliged and obedient servant,

"SAYE AND SELE.

"As a free horse needs no spur, so I stand in need of no inducement or douceur to lend my small assistance to the King or his friends in the present Administration."

That such bribery was part of the general practice of the Government under George III., may be seen by the following extract from an infamous letter written about fifteen years later by the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland: "No man can see the inconvenience of increasing the Peers more forcibly than myself: but the recommendation of many of those persons submitted to his Majesty for that honor, arose from engagements taken up at the press of the moment to rescue questions upon which the English Government were very particularly anxious. My sentiments cannot be but the same with reference to the Privy Council and pensions, and I had not contracted any absolute engagements of recommendations, either to peerage or pension, till difficulties arose which necessarily occasioned so much anxiety in his Majesty's Cabinet, that I must have been culpable in neglecting any possible means to secure a majority in the House of Commons."

A good story is told of the Great Commoner Pitt's repartee to Fox (afterwards Lord Holland), in one of the debates of this period. "Pitt," says the *London Chronicle*, "in the heat of his declamation, proceeded so far as to attack the personal deformity of Fox; and represented his gloomy and lowering countenance, with the penthouse of his eye-brows, as Churchill phrases it, as a true introduction of his dark and double mind. Mr. Fox was nettled at this personal reflection, and the more so, perhaps, that it was as just as it was cutting. He therefore got up, and, after inveighing bitterly against the indecency of his antagonist in

descending to remark on his bodily defects, observed that his figure was such as God Almighty had made it, and he could not look otherwise; and then, in a tone between the plaintive and indignant, cried out, 'How, gentleman, shall I *look?*' Most of the members, apprehending that Mr. Pitt had gone rather too far, were inclined to think that Mr. Fox had got the better of him. But Mr. Pitt started up, and, with one of those happy turns in which he so much excels, silenced his rival, and made him sit down with a countenance, if possible, more abashed than formerly. '*Look!* Sir,' said he—'*look* as you *cannot* look, if you *would*—*look* as you *dare* not look, if you *could*—*look* like an *honest man!*'"

In the *London Chronicle* for March, 1763, we find bitter complaints that since 1760 "every obsolete, useless place has been revived, and every occasion of increasing salaries seized with eagerness," and that a great Whig leader "has just condescended to stipulate for an additional salary, without power, as the price of his support to the Tory Government."

In March, 1763, George III. gave four ships of war to the King of Sardinia at the national expense, and in August a fifth vessel appears to have been given.

On the 23rd of April, 1763, No. 41 of the *North Briton*, a journal which had been started in opposition to Lord Bute's paper, the *Briton*, was published, severely criticising the King's speech, and warmly attacking Lord Bute. This issue provoked the ministers to a course of the utmost illegality. A *general warrant* to seize all persons concerned in the publication of the *North Briton*, without specifying their names, was immediately issued by the Secretary of State, and a number of printers and publishers were placed in custody, some of whom were not at all concerned in the obnoxious publication. Late on the night of the 29th of April the messengers entered the house of John Wilkes, M.P. for Aylesbury (the author of the article in question), and produced their warrant, with which he refused to comply. On the following morning, however, he was carried before the Secretary of State, and committed a close prisoner to the Tower, his papers being previously seized and sealed, and all access to his person strictly prohibited. The warrant was clearly an illegal one, and had only been previously resorted to in one or two instances, and under very extraordinary circumstances, of which there were none in the present case. Wilkes's friends immediately obtained a writ of *habeas corpus*, which the ministers defeated by a mean subterfuge; and it was found necessary to obtain a second before they could bring the prisoner before the Court of King's Bench, by which he was set at liberty, on the ground of his privilege as a Member of Parliament. He then opened an angry correspondence, followed by actions at law, against the Secretaries of State, for the seizure of his papers, and for the wrongful arrest. These actions abated, although in the one for the seizure of the papers a verdict was given for £1,000 damages and costs. But in the meantime the Attorney-General

had been directed to institute a prosecution against Wilkes, in the King's Bench, for blasphemous and obscene libel, and the King had ordered him to be deprived of his commission as Colonel in the Buckinghamshire Militia. The King further exhibited his resentment by depriving Lord Temple of the Lord Lieutenancy of the same county, and striking his name out of the Council-book, for an expression of personal sympathy which had fallen from him. Worse than all, this King George III. actually deprived General A'Court, M.P. for Heytesbury, of his commission as Colonel of the 11th Dragoons for having voted that the arrest of Wilkes was a breach of privilege. He also caused it to be intimated to General Conway, "that the King cannot trust his army in the hands of a man who votes in Parliament against him."

The House of Commons ordered the *North Briton* to be burned by the common hangman; but when the authorities attempted to carry out the sentence, the people assembled, rescued the number, and burned instead a large jack-boot, the popular hieroglyphic for the unpopular minister.

Amongst the many rhymed squibs the following is worth repetition:—

> "Because the *North Briton* inflamed the whole nation,
> To flames they commit it to show detestation;
> But throughout old England how joy would have spread,
> Had the real North Briton been burnt in its stead!"

The North Briton of the last line is, of course, the Scotch Earl Bute.

As an illustration of the then disgraceful state of the English law, it is enough to notice that Lord Halifax, the Secretary of State, by availing himself of his privileges as a peer, managed to delay John Wilkes in his action from June, 1763, to November, 1764; and then, Wilkes having been outlawed, the noble Earl appeared and pleaded the outlawry as a bar to further proceedings. Ultimately, after five years delay, Wilkes annulled the outlawry, and recovered £4,000 damages against Lord Halifax. For a few months Wilkes was a popular idol, and had he been a man of real earnestness and integrity, might have taken a permanently leading position in the State.

In August, 1763, Frederick, Duke of York, was born. He was created Prince Bishop of Osnaburg before he could speak. The King and Queen were much dissatisfied because the clergy of the diocese, who did not dispute the baby bishop's ability to attend to the souls of his flock, yet refused to entrust to him the irresponsible guardianship of the episcopal funds. This bishopric had actually been kept vacant by the King nearly three years, in order that he might not give it the Duke of Cumberland. The income was about £25,000 a year, and it was to secure this Prince Bishopric for the Duke of Cumberland that George II. burthened the country with several subsidies to petty European sovereigns.

The King's sister, Augusta, was, like the rest of the Brunswick family, on extremely bad terms with her mother, the Princess of Wales. The Princess Augusta was married on January 16th, 1764, to the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, who received £80,000, besides £8,000 a year, for becoming the husband of one of our Royal Family. In addition to this, George III. and Queen Charlotte insulted the newly married couple, who returned the insult with interest. Pleasant people, these Brunswicks!

In March, 1764, the first steps were taken in the endeavor to impose taxes on the American colonies, an endeavor which at length resulted in their famous rebellion. The commanders of our ships of war on the American coast were sworn in to act as revenue officers, the consequence of which was the frequently illegal seizure of ships and cargoes without any means of redress for the Americans in their own colony. As though to add to the rising disaffection, Mr. Grenville proposed a new stamp-tax. As soon as the Stamp Act reached Boston, the ships in the harbour hung their colors half mast high, the bells were rung muffled, the Act of Parliament was reprinted with a death's head for title, and sold in the streets as the "Folly of England and Ruin of America." The Americans refused to use stamped paper. The Government distributors of stamps were either forced to return to England, or were obliged to renounce publicly and upon oath their official employment; and when the matter was again brought before the English House of Commons, Pitt denied the right of Parliament to levy taxation on persons who had no right to representation, and exclaimed: "I rejoice that America has resisted: three millions of people so dead to all feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest." The supporters of the Government actually advanced the ridiculously absurd and most monstrous pretention that America was in law represented in Parliament as part of the manor of East Greenwich! In consequence of the firm resistance of the American colonies the Stamp Act was repealed on the 18th March, 1766.

The Earl of Abercorn and Lord Harcourt appear to have been consulted by the Queen as to the effect of the previous marriage of George III. with Hannah Lightfoot, who seems to have been got rid of by some arrangement for a second marriage between her and a Mr. Axford, to whom a sum of money was paid. It is alleged that this was done without the knowledge of the King, who entreated Lord Chatham to discover where the Quakeress had gone. No fresh communication, however, took place between George III. and Hannah Lightfoot; and the King's first attack of insanity, which took place in 1764, is strongly suggested to have followed the more than doubts as to the legality of the second marriage and the legitimacy of the Royal Family. Hannah Lightfoot died in the winter of 1764, and in the early part of the year 1765, the King being then scarcely sane, a second ceremony

of marriage with the Queen was privately performed by the Rev. Dr. Wilmot, at Kew Palace. Hannah Lightfoot left children by George III., but of these nothing is known.

In the winter of 1764, and spring of 1765, George III. was, in diplomatic language, laboring under an indisposition; in truth, he was mad. A Bill was introduced in 1764 in the House of Lords, to provide for a Regency in case of the recurrence of any similar attack. In the discussion on this Bill, a doubt arose as to who were to be regarded as the Royal Family; fortunately the Law Lords limited it to the descendants of George II. If a similar definition prevailed to-day, we should perhaps not be obliged to pay the pensions to the Duke of Cambridge and Princess Mary, which they at present receive as members of the Royal Family. The King, enraged that his mother's name was omitted from the Regency Bill, hurriedly dismissed the Grenville-Bedford Minstry.

On the 30th of October, 1765, William, Duke of Cumberland, the King's uncle, died. Dr. Doran says of him: "As he grew in manhood his heart became hardened; he had no affection for his family, nor fondness for the army, for which he affected attachment. When his brother (Prince Frederick) died, pleasure, not pain made his heart throb, as he sarcastically exclaimed: 'It's a great blow to the country, but I hope it will recover in time.' He was the author of what was called 'the Bloody Mutiny Act.' 'He was dissolute and a gambler.' After the 'disgraceful surrender of Hanover, and the infamous convention of Klosterseven,' his father, George II., said, 'Behold the son who has ruined me, and disgraced himself.' His own nephew, George III., believed the Duke to be capable of murder." The Dukes of Cumberland in this Brunswick family have had a most unfortunate reputation.

In 1766, William Henry, Duke of Gloucester, brother of the King, married Maria, Countess Dowager of Waldegrave. This marriage was at the time repudiated by the rest of the Royal Family.

In October of the same year, Caroline Matilda, the King's sister, married Christian, King of Denmark, an unfeeling, dissolute brute. Our Princess, who lived very unhappily, was afterwards accused of adultery, and rescued from punishment by a British man-of-war.

In the autumn of 1766, in consequence of the high price of provisions and taxes, large gatherings took place in many parts of the kingdom; these assemblages were dispersed with considerable loss of life, of course by the military, which the House of Brunswick was not slow to use in checking political manifestations. At Derby the people were charged by the cavalry: at Colton eight were shot dead, in Gloucestershire many lives were lost; in fact, from Exeter to Berwick-on-Tweed, there was one ferment of discontent and dissatisfaction. The people were heavily taxed, the aristocracy corrupt and careless. As an instance of the madness of the governing classes, it is sufficient to

point out that in 1767, while taxation was increasing, the landed gentry, who were rapidly appropriating common lands under Private Enclosure Acts, most audaciously reduced the land tax by one-fourth. During the first thirty-seven years of the reign of George III., there were no less than 1,532 Enclosure Acts passed, affecting in all 2,804,197 acres of land filched from the nation by a few families. Wealth took and poverty lost; riches got land without burden, and labor inherited burden in lieu of land. In the early part of the reign of George III., land yielding about a sixth or seventh of its present rental paid the same nominal tax that it does to-day, the actual amount paid at the present time being, however, smaller, through redemption; and yet then the annual interest on the National Debt was under £4,500,000, while to-day a sum of £28,000,000 is required for the interest and management of the debt. Then the King's Civil List covered all the expenses of our State ministers and diplomatic representatives; to-day an enormous additional sum is required, and a Prime Minister, professing economy and well versed in history, has actually the audacity to pretend that the country gains by its present Civil List arrangement. In 1767 a variety of duties were enacted for collection in the American colonies, and, to prepare for a possible struggle, two regiments were sent from England to Massachusetts to protect the Commissioners of Customs.

In 1769 George III. announced to his faithful Commons that he owed half a million. John Wilkes and a few others protested, but the money, £513,511, was voted.

In 1770 King George III. succeeded in making several buttons at Kew. His son, afterwards George IV., made a shoe-buckle. No other useful product has resulted directly from the efforts of any male of the family. As a set off to the buttons, George III., this year, brought the Tories into power under Lord North.

In 1770, Henry, Duke of Cumberland, the King's brother, was sued by Lord Grosvenor for *crim. con.*, and had to pay £10,000 damages. This same Henry, in the following year, went through the form of marriage with a Mrs. Horton, which marriage, being repudiated by the Court, troubled him but little, and in the lifetime of the lady he contracted a second alliance, which gave rise to the famous Olivia Serres legitimacy issue.

The Royal Marriage Act, a most infamous measure for insuring the perpetuation of royal vice, and said to be the result of the Lightfoot experience, was introduced to Parliament by a message from George III., on the 20th February, 1772, twelve days after the death of the Princess-Dowager of Wales. George III. wrote to Lord North on the 26th February: "I expect every nerve to be strained to carry the Bill. It is not a question relating to the Administration, but personally to myself, therefore I have a right to expect a hearty support from everyone in my service, and I shall remember defaulters."

In May, 1773, the East India Company applying to Parliament for borrowing powers, a select committtee was appointed, whose inquiries laid open cases of rapacity and treachery involving the highest personages, and a resolution was carried in the House of Commons affirming that Lord Clive had dishonorably possessed himself of £234,000 at the time of the deposition of Suraja Dowlah, and the establishment of Meer Jaffier. Besides this, it was proved that Lord Clive received several other large sums in succeeding years. Phillimore describes this transaction as one of "disgusting and sordid turpitude," declaring that "individual members of the English Government were to be paid for their treachery by a hire, the amount of which is almost incredible." A few years after this exposure, Lord Clive committed suicide."

On the 18th of December, 1773, the celebrated cargoes of tea were thrown overboard in Boston Harbour. The tea duty was a trifling one, but was insisted upon by the King's Government as an assertion of the right of the British Parliament to tax the unrepresented American colonies, a right the colonists strenuously and successfully denied. Lord North said "a total repeal cannot be thought of until America is prostrate at our feet."

The news of the firm attitude of the Bay State colonists arrived in England early in May, 1774, and Lord North's Government, urged by the King, deprived Boston of her privileges as a port; took away from the state of Massachusetts the whole of the executive powers granted by the charter of William III., vested the nomination of magistrates of every kind in the King or royally-appointed Governor, and carried an enactment authorising persons accused of political offences committed in Boston to be sent home to England to be tried.

These monstrous statutes provoked the most decided resistance; all the other American colonies joined with Massachusetts, and a solemn league and covenant was entered into for suspending all commercial intercourse with Great Britain until the obnoxious Acts were repealed. On the 5th of September, 1774, a congress of fifty-one representatives, from twelve old colonies, assembled in Philadelphia. The instructions given to them disclaimed every idea of independence, recognised the constitutional authority of the mother country, and acknowledged the prerogatives of the crown; but unanimously declared that they would never give up the rights and liberties derived to them from their ancestors as British subjects, and pronounced the late Acts relative to the colony of Massachusetts Bay to be unconstitutional, oppressive, and dangerous. The first public act of the congress was a resolution declarative of their favorable disposition towards the colony above-mentioned; and, by subsequent resolutions, they formally approved the opposition it had given to the obnoxious Acts, and declared that, if an attempt were made to carry them into execution by force, the colony should be supported by all America.

The following extract is from the "Address of the Twelve

United Provinces to the Inhabitants of Great Britain," when force was actually used: "We can retire beyond the reach of your navy and, without any sensible diminution of the necessaries of life, enjoy a luxury, which from that period you will want—*the luxury of being free.*"

On the 16th of November, 1775, Edmund Burke proposed the renunciation on the part of Great Britain of the exercise of taxation in America, the repeal of the obnoxious duty on tea, and a general pardon for past political offenders. This was directly opposed by the King—who had lists brought to him showing how the members spoke and voted—and was negatived in the House of Commons by 210 votes against 105. On the 20th November, after consultation with George III., Lord North introduced a Bill by which all trade and commerce with the thirteen United Colonies were interdicted. It authorised the seizure, whether in harbour or on the high seas, of all vessels laden with American property, and by a cruel stretch of refined tyranny it rendered all persons taken on board American vessels liable to be entered as sailors on Board British ships of war, and to serve (if required) against their own countrymen. About the same time, as we learn by a "secret" dispatch from Lord Dartmouth to General Howe, the King had been unmanly enough to apply to the Czarina of Russia for the loan of 20,000 Russian soldiers to enable him to crush his English subjects in the American colonies. As yet the Americans had made no claim for independence. They were only petitioners for justice.

In order to crush out the spirit of liberty in the American colonies, the Government of George III., in February, 1776, hired 17,000 men from the Landgrave and Hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassel, and from the Duke of Brunswick. Besides these, there were levies of troops out of George III.'s Hanoverian dominions; and that nothing may be wanting to our glory, the King's agents stirred up the Cherokee and Creek Indians to scalp, ravish, and plunder the disaffected colonists. Jesse says "The newly-arrived troops comprised several thousand kidnapped German soldiers, whom the cupidity of the Duke of Brunswick, of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and other German Princes, had induced to let out for hire to the British Government. Frederick of Prussia not only denounced the traffic as a most scandalous one, but whenever, it is said, the unfortunate hirelings had occasion to march through any part of his dominions, used to levy a toll upon them, as if they had been so many head of bullocks. They had been sold, he said, as cattle, and therefore he was entitled to exact the toll."

The consequence of all this was, on the 4th July, 1776, the famous declaration of the American Congress. "The history of the reigning sovereign," they said, "was a history of repeated injuries and usurpations. So evidently was it his intention to establish an absolute despotism, that it had become their duty, as well as their right, to secure themselves against further aggressions. In every stage of these oppressions," proceeds the

Declaration, "we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms. Our petitions have been answered only by repeated injuries. A Prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people." And the United Colonies solemnly declared themselves to be free and independent States."

In 1777, during this American war, Earl Chatham, in one of his grand speeches, after denouncing "the traffic and barter driven with every little pitiful German Prince that sells his subjects to the shambles of a foreign country," adds: "The mercenary aid on which you rely irritates to an incurable resentment the minds of your enemies, whom you overrun with the sordid sons of rapine and of plunder, devoting them and their possessions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty! If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms, never! never! never!" In reply to Lord Suffolk, who had said, in reference to employing the Indians, that "we were justified in using all the means which God and nature had put into our hands," "I am astonished," exclaimed Lord Chatham, as he rose, "shocked to hear such principles confessed, to hear them avowed in this House, or in this country; principles equally unconstitutional, inhuman, and un-Christian. *That God and nature put into our hands!* I know not what idea the Lord may entertain of God and nature, but I know that such abominable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity. What! attribute the sacred sanction of God and nature to the massacres of the Indian scalping-knife, to the cannibal savage, torturing, murdering, roasting, and eating—literally, my Lords, eating—the mangled victims of his barbarous battles!"

And yet even after this we find George III. writing to Lord North, on the 22nd of June, 1779: "I do not yet despair that, with Clinton's activity, and the Indians in their rear, the provinces will soon now submit."

Actually so late as the 27th of November, 1781, after the surrender of Cornwallis, we find George III. saying that, "retaining a firm confidence in the wisdom and protection of Divine Providence," he should be able "by the valor of his fleets and armies to conquer America." Fox, in the House of Commons, denounced this speech of the King's as one "breathing vengeance, blood, misery, and rancor;" and "as containing the sentiments of some arbitrary, despotic, hard-hearted, and unfeeling monarch, who, having involved his subjects in a ruinous and unnatural war to glut his feelings of revenge, was determined to persevere in it in spite of calamity." "Divest the speech," said he, "of its official forms, and what was its purport?" 'Our losses in America have been most calamitious; the blood of my subjects has flowed in copious streams; the treasures of Great Britain have been wantonly lavished; the load of taxes imposed on an overburthened country is become intolerable; my rage for conquest is unquenched; my revenge unsated; nor can anything

except the total subjugation of my American subjects allay my animosity.' "

The naval and military expenditure for the years during which this disastrous war continued amounted to £139,521,035.

In addition to this must be noted £1,340,000 voted as compensation to American loyalists in 1788, and £4,000 a year pension to this day paid to the descendants of William Penn, amounting, with compound interest, to an enormous additional sum, without reckoning future liability. Also a continent parted from us in blood and shame, in consequence of a vain attempt to gratify the desire of the House of Brunswick to make New England contribute to German greed as freely and as servilely as had Old England.

Encouraged by the willingness with which his former debts had been discharged, George III., in 1777, sent a second message to his faithful Commons, but this time for the larger sum of £618,340, which was not only paid, but an additional allowance of £100,000 a year was voted to his Majesty, and £40,000 was given to the Landgrave of Hesse.

The then barbarity of our laws is shown by the fact that, in 1777, Sarah Parker was burnt for counterfeiting silver coin; in June, 1786, Phœbe Harris was burnt for the same offence, and this in a reign when persons in high position accused of murder, forgery, perjury, and robbery, escaped almost scot free.

In April, 1778, £60,000 a year was settled on the six younger princes, and £30,000 a year on the five princesses. These pensions, however, were professedly paid out of the King's Civil List, not avowedly in addition to it, as they are to-day. The Duke of Buckingham stated that in 1778, and again in 1782, the King threatened to abdicate. This threat, which unfortunately was never carried out, arose from the King's obstinate persistence in the worse than insane policy against the American colonies.

In December, 1779, in consequence of England needing Irish soldiers to make war on America, Ireland was graciously permitted to export Irish woollen manufactures. The indulgences, however, to Ireland—even while the ministers of George III. were trying to enlist Irishmen to kill the English, Scotch, and Irish in America—were made most grudgingly. Pious Protestant George III. would not consent that any Irish Catholic should own one foot of freehold land; and Edmund Burke, in a letter to an Irish peer, says that it was pride, arrogance, and a spirit of domination, which kept up "these unjust legal disabilities."

On the 8th February, 1780, Sir G. Savile presented the famous Yorkshire petition, signed by 8,000 freeholders, praying the House of Commons to inquire into the management and expenditure of public money, to reduce all exorbitant emoluments, and to abolish all sinecure places, and unmerited pensions. Three days later, Edmund Burke proposed a reduction of the national taxation (which was then only a sixth part of its

amount to-day), and a diminution of the power of the Crown. Burke was defeated, but shortly after, on the motion of Mr. Dunning, the House of Commons declared, by a majority of 18 against the Government, "That the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished."

On the 20th March, 1782, Lord North, in consequence of the impossibility of subduing the American colonies, determined to resign. The King opposed this to the last, declaring that no difficulties should induce him to consent to a peace acknowledging the Independence of America. "So distressing," says Jesse, "was the conflict which prevailed in the mind of George III., that he not only contemplated abandoning the Crown of England for the Electorate of Hanover, but orders had actually been issued to have the royal yacht in readiness for his flight." What a blessing to the country if he had really persevered in his resolution!

Charles James Fox, who now came into power for a brief space, had, says Jesse, "taught himself to look upon his sovereign as a mere dull, obstinate, half-crazed, and narrow-minded bigot; a Prince whose shallow understanding had never been improved by education, whose prejudices it was impossible to remove, and whose resentments it would be idle to endeavor to soften."

In July, 1782, Lord Shelburne came into office; but he "always complained that the King had tricked and deserted him," and had "secretly connived at his downfall." He resigned office on the 24th February, 1783. An attempt was made to form a Coalition Ministry, under the Duke of Portland. The King complained of being treated with personal incivility, and the attempt failed. On the 23rd March the Prince of Wales at the Queen's Drawing-room, said: "The King had refused to accept the coalition, but, by God, he should be made to agree to it." Under the great excitement, the King's health gave way. The Prince, says Jesse, was a member of Brook's Club, where, as Walpole tells us, the members were not only "strangely licentious" in their talk about their sovereign, but in their zeal for the interests of the heartless young Prince, "even wagered on the duration of the King's reign." The King repeated his threat of abandoning the Throne, and retiring to his Hanoverian dominions; and told the Lord-Advocate, Dundas, that he had obtained the consent of the Queen to his taking this extraordinary step. Young William Pitt refusing twice to accept the Premiership, Fox and Lord North came again into power. £30,000 was voted for the Prince of Wales's debts, and a similar sum to enable him to furnish his house. The "unnatural" Coalition Ministry did not last long. Fox introduced his famous India Bill. The King, regarding it as a blow at the power of the Crown, caballed and canvassed the Peers against it. "The welfare of thirty millions of people was overlooked in the excitement produced by selfish interests, by party zeal, and officious loyalty." "Instantly," writes Lord Macaulay, "a troop of the Lords of the Bedchamber, of Bishops who wished to

be translated, and of Scotch peers who wished to be re-elected, made haste to change sides." The Bill had passed the Commons by large majorities. The King opposed it like a partisan, and when it was defeated in the Lords, cried, "Thank God! it is all over; the House has thrown out the Bill, so there is an end of Mr. Fox." The Ministers not resigning, as the King expected they would, his Majesty dismissed them at once, sending to Lord North in the middle of the night for his seals of office.

On the 27th December, 1783, William Pitt, then twenty-four years of age, became Prime Minister of England. The House of Commons passed a resolution, on the motion of Lord Surrey, remonstrating with the King for having permitted his sacred name to be unconstitutionally used in order to influence the deliberations of Parliament. More than once the Commons petitioned the King to dismiss Pitt from office. Pitt, with large majorities against him, wished to resign; but George III. said, "If you resign, Mr. Pitt, I must resign too," and he again threatened, in the event of defeat, to abandon England, and retire to his Hanoverian dominions. Now our monarch, even if a king, would have no Hanoverian dominions to retire to.

In 1784, George Prince of Wales was over head and ears in debt, and the King, who appears to have hated him, refusing any aid, the Prince resorted to threats. Dr. Doran says: "A conversation is spoken of as having passed between the Queen and the Minister, in which he is reported as having said, 'I much fear, your Majesty, that the Prince, in his wild moments, may allow expressions to escape him that may be injurious to the Crown.' 'There is little fear of that,' was the alleged reply of the Queen, 'he is too well aware of the consequences of such a course of conduct to himself. As regards that point, therefore, I can rely upon him.'"

Jesse says of the Prince of Wales that between eighteen and twenty, 'to be carried home drunk, or to be taken into custody by the watch, were apparently no unfrequent episodes in the early part of the career of the Heir to the Throne. Under the auspices of his weak and frivolous uncle, the Duke of Cumberland, the Prince's conversation is said to have been a compound of the slang of grooms and the wanton vocabulary of a brothel." "When we hunt together," said the King to the Duke of Gloucester, "neither my son nor my brother speak to me; and lately, when the chase ended at a little village where there was but a single post-chaise to be hired, my son and brother got into it, and drove off, leaving me to go home in a cart, if I could find one."

In 1784, £60,000 was voted by Parliament to defray the King's debts. In consequence of the large debts of the Prince of Wales, an interview was arranged at Carlton House on the 27th April, 1785, between the Prince and Lord Malmesbury. The King, the Prince said, had desired him to send in an exact statement of his debts; there was one item, however, of £25,000, on which

the Prince of Wales would give no information. If it were a debt, argued the King, which his son was ashamed to explain, it was one which the King ought not to defray. The Prince threatened to go abroad, saying, "I am ruined if I stay in England. I shall disgrace myself as a man; my father hates me, and has hated me since I was seven years old. We are too wide asunder ever to meet. The King has deceived me; he has made me deceive others. I cannot trust him, and he will not believe me." And this is the Brunswick family to which the English nation is required to be blindly loyal!

In 1785, George Prince of Wales was married to a Roman Catholic lady, Mrs. Fitzherbert, a widow. It is of course known that the Prince treated the lady badly. This was not his first experience, the history of Mary Robinson forming but one amongst a long list of shabby *liaisons*. A question having arisen before the House of Commons, during a discussion on the debts owing by the Prince, Charles James Fox, on the written authority of the Prince, denied that any marriage, regular or irregular, had ever taken place, and termed it "an invention destitute of the slightest foundation." Mr. Fox's denial was made on the distinct written authority of the Prince, who offered, through Fox, to give in the House of Lords the "fullest assurances of the utter falsehood" of the allegation; although not only does everybody know to-day that the denial was untrue, but, in point of fact, the fullest proofs of the denied marriage exist at this very moment in the custody of Messrs. Coutts, the bankers. Out of all the Brunswicks England has been cursed with, George I. is the only one against whom there is no charge of wanton falsehood to his ministers or subjects, and it is fairly probable that his character for such truthfulness was preserved by his utter inability to talk our language.

Not only did George Prince of Wales thus deny his marriage with Mrs. Fitzherbert, but repeated voluntarily the denial after he became King George IV. Despite this denial, the King's executors, the Duke of Wellington and Sir William Knighton, were compelled by Mrs. Fitzherbert to admit the proofs. The marriage took place on the 21st December, 1785, and Mrs. Fitzherbert being a Roman Catholic, the legal effect was to bar Prince George and prevent him ever becoming the lawful King of England. The documents above referred to as being at Coutts's, include—1. The marriage certificate. 2. A letter written by the Prince of Wales acknowledging the marriage. 3. A will, signed by him, also acknowledging it, and other documents. And yet George, our King, whom Mr. Disraeli praises, authorised Charles James Fox to declare the rumor of his marriage, "a low, malicious falsehood;" and then the Prince went to Mrs. Fitzherbert, and like a mean, lying hypocrite as he was, said, "Oh Maria, only conceive what Fox did yesterday, he went down to the House and denied that you and I were man and wife."

In 1786, £210,000 was voted for payment of the King's debts. Although when George Prince of Wales had attained his

majority, he had an allowance of £50,000 a year, £60,000 to furnish Carlton House, and an additional £40,000 for cash to start with, yet he was soon after deep in debt, and in 1786, an execution was levied on his furniture for a debt of £600. In 1787, £160,000 was voted, and a portion of the Prince's debts was paid. £20,000 further was added as a vote for Carlton House. Thackeray says: "Lovers of long sums have added up the millions and millions which in the course of his brilliant existence this single prince consumed. Besides his income of £50,000, £70,000, £100,000, £120,000 a year, we read of three applications to Parliament; debts to the amount of £160,000, of £650,000, besides mysterious foreign loans, whereof he pocketed the proceeds. What did he do for all this money? Why was he to have it? If he had been a manufacturing town, or a populous rural district, or an army of five thousand men, he would not have cost more. He, one solitary stout man, who did not toil, nor spin, nor fight—what had any mortal done that he should be pampered so?'

The proposed impeachment of Warren Hastings, which actually commenced on February 13th, 1788, and which did not conclude until eight years afterwards, excited considerable feeling, it being roundly alleged that Court protection had been purchased by the late Governor-General of India, by means of a large diamond presented to the King. The following rhymed squib tells its own story. It was sung about the streets to the tune of "Derry Down:"—

"I'll sing you a song of a diamond so fine,
That soon in the crown of a monarch will shine;
Of its size and its value the whole country rings,
By Hastings bestowed on the best of all Kings.
Derry down, &c.

"From India this jewel was lately brought o'er,
Though sunk in the sea, it was found on the shore,
And just in the nick of St. James's it got,
Conveyed in a bag by the brave Major Scott.
Derry down, &c.

"Lord Sidney stepp'd forth, when the tidings were known,
It's his office to carry such news to the throne;—
Though quite out of breath, to the closet he ran,
And stammer'd with joy ere his tale he began.
Derry down, &c.

"'Here's a jewel, my liege, there's none such in the land:
Major Scott, with three bows, put it into my hand;
And he swore when he gave it, the wise ones were bit,
For it never was shown to Dundas or to Pitt.'
Derry down, &c.

"'For Dundas,' cried our sovereign, 'unpolished and rough,
Give him a Scotch pebble, it's more than enough.
And jewels to Pitt, Hastings justly refuses,
For he has already more gifts than he uses.'
Derry down, &c.

"'But run, Jenky, run!' adds the King in delight,
'Bring the Queen and Princesses here for a sight;
They never would pardon the negligence shown,
If we kept from their knowledge so glorious a stone.
Derry down, &c.

"'But guard the door, Jenky, no credit we'll win,
If the Prince in a frolic should chance to step in:
The boy to such secrets of State we'll ne'er call,
Let him wait till he gets our crown, income, and all.'
Derry down, &c.

"In the Princesses run, and surprised cry, 'O la!
'Tis big as the egg of a pigeon, papa!'
'And a pigeon of plumage worth plucking is he,'
Replies our good monarch, 'who sent it to me.'
Derry down, &c.

"Madame Schwellenberg peep'd through the door at the chink,
And tipp'd on the diamond a sly German wink;
As much as to say, 'Can we ever be cruel
To him who has sent us so glorious a jewel?'
Derry down, &c.

"Now God save the Queen! while the people I teach,
How the King may grow rich while the Commons impeach;
Then let nabobs go plunder, and rob as they will,
And throw in their diamonds as grist to his mill.
Derry down, &c.

It was believed that the King had received not one diamond, but a large quantity, and that they were to be the purchase-money of Hastings's acquittal. Caricatures on the subject were to be seen in the window of every print-shop. In one of these Hastings was represented wheeling away in a barrow the King, with his crown and sceptre, observing, "What a man buys, he may sell;" and, in another, the King was exhibited on his knees, with his mouth wide open, and Warren Hastings pitching diamonds into it. Many other prints, some of them bearing evidence of the style of the best caricaturists of the day, kept up the agitation on this subject. It happened that there was a quack in the town, who pretended to eat stones, and bills of his exhibition were placarded on the walls, headed in large letters, "The great stone eater!" The caricaturists took the hint, and drew the King with a diamond between his teeth, and a heap of others before him, with the inscription, "The greatest stone eater."

We borrow from Lord Macaulay to enable our readers to judge, in brief space, the nature of Warren Hastings's position, standing impeached, as he did, on a long string of charges, some of them most terrible in their implication of violence, falsehood, fraud, and rapacity. Macaulay thus pictures the situation between the civilised Christian and his tributaries:—"On one side was a band of English functionaries, daring, intelligent, eager to be rich. On the other side was a great native population, helpless, timid, and accustomed to crouch under oppression." When

some new act of rapacity was resisted there came war; but a "war of Bengalese against Englishmen was like a war of sheep against wolves, and men against demons." There was a long period before anyone dreamed that justice and morality should be features of English rule in India. "During the interval, the business of a servant of the Company was simply to wring out of the natives a hundred or two hundred thousand pounds as speedily as possible, that he might return home before his constitution had suffered from the heat, to marry a peer's daughter, to buy rotten boroughs in Cornwall, and to give balls in St. James's Square." Hastings was compelled to turn his attention to foreign affairs. The object of his diplomacy was at this time simply to get money. The finances of his government were in an embarrassed state, and this embarrassment he was determined to relieve by some means, fair or foul. The principle which directed all his dealings with his neighbors is fully expressed by the old motto of one of the great predatory families of Teviotdale—"Thou shalt want ere I want." He seems to have laid it down, as a fundamental proposition which could not be disputed, that, when he had not as many lacs of rupees as the public service required, he was to take them from anybody who had. One thing, indeed, is to be said in excuse for him. The pressure applied to him by his employers at home was such as only the highest virtue could have withstood, such as left him no choice except to commit great wrongs, or to resign his high post, and with that post all his hopes of fortune and distinction. "Hastings was in need of funds to carry on the government of Bengal, and to send remittances to London; and Sujah Dowlah had an ample revenue. Sujah Dowlah was bent on subjugating the Rohillas, and Hastings had at his disposal the only force by which the Rohillas could be subjugated. It was agreed that an English army should be lent to Nabob Vizier, and that for the loan he should pay four hundred thousand pounds sterling, besides defraying all the charge of the troops while employed in his service. 'I really cannot see,' says Mr. Gleig, 'upon what grounds, either of political or moral justice, this proposition deserves to be stigmatised as infamous.' If we understand the meaning of words, it is infamous to commit a wicked action for hire, and it is wicked to engage in war without provocation. In this particular war, scarcely one aggravating circumstance was wanting. The object of the Rohilla war was this—to deprive a large population, who had never done us the least harm, of a good government, and to place them, against their will, under an execrably bad one. The horrors of Indian war were let loose on the fair valleys and cities of Rohilcund. The whole country was in a blaze. More than a hundred thousand people fled from their homes to pestilential jungles, preferring famine and fever, and the haunts of tigers, to the tyranny of him to whom an English and a Christian government had, for shameful lucre, sold their substance, and their blood, and the honor of their wives and daughters. . . . Mr. Hastings had only to put down by main force the brave struggles

of innocent men fighting for their liberty. Their military resistance crushed, his duties ended; and he had then only to fold his arms and look on, while their villages were burned, their children butchered, and their women violated. . . . We hasten to the end of this sad and disgraceful story. The war ceased. The finest population of India was subjected to a greedy, cowardly, cruel tyrant. Commerce and agriculture languished. The rich province which had tempted the cupidity of Sujah Dowlah became the most miserable part even of his miserable dominions. Yet is the injured nation not extinct. At long intervals gleams of its ancient spirit have flashed forth; and even at this day valor, and self-respect, and a chivalrous feeling rare among Asiatics, and a bitter remembrance of the great crime of England, distinguish that noble Afghan race."

Partly in consequence of the proposed legislation by Fox on the affairs of the East India Company, and partly from personal antagonism, members of the Indian Council hostile to Governor-General Hastings were sent out to India. Amongst his most prominent antagonists was Francis, the reputed author of Junius's Letters. It was to Francis especially that the Maharajah Nuncomar of Bengal addressed himself. "He put into the hands of Francis, with great ceremony, a paper containing several charges of the most serious description. By this document Hastings was accused of putting offices up to sale, and of receiving bribes for suffering offenders to escape. In particular, it was alleged that Mahommed Reza Khan had been dismissed with impunity, in consideration of a great sum paid to the Governor-General. . . . He stated that Hastings had received a large sum for appointing Rajah Goordas treasurer of the Nabob's household, and for committing the care of his Highness's person to Munny Begum. He put in a letter purporting to bear the seal of the Munny Begum, for the purpose of establishing the truth of his story."

Much evidence was taken before the Indian Council, where there was considerable conflict between the friends and enemies of Hastings. "The majority, however, voted that the charge was made out; that Hastings had corruptly received between thirty and forty thousand pounds: and that he ought to be compelled to refund."

Now, however, comes an item darker and more disgraceful, if possible, than what had preceded.

"On a sudden, Calcutta was astounded by the news that Nuncomar had been taken up on a charge of felony, committed, and thrown into the common gaol. The crime imputed to him was, that six years before he had forged a bond. The ostensible prosecutor was a native. But it was then, and still is, the opinion of everybody, idiots and biographers excepted, that Hastings was the real mover in the business." The Chief-Justice Impey, one of Hastings's creatures, pushed on a mock trial, "a verdict of Guilty was returned, and the Chief-Justice pronounced sentence of death on the prisoner. Of Impey's

conduct it is impossible to speak too severely. He acted unjustly in refusing to respite Nuncomar. No rational man can doubt that he took this course in order to gratify the Governor-General. If we had ever had any doubts on that point, they would have been dispelled by a letter which Mr. Gleig has published. Hastings, three or four years later, described Impey as the man 'to whose support he was at one time indebted for the safety of his fortune, honor, and reputation.' These strong words can refer only to the case of Nuncomar; and they must mean that Impey hanged Nuncomar in order to support Hastings. It is therefore our deliberate opinion that Impey, sitting as a judge, put a man unjustly to death in order to serve a political purpose."

Encouraged by success, a few years later, Hastings, upon the most unfair pretext, made war upon and plundered the Rajah of Benares, and a little later subjected the eunuchs of the Begums of Oude to physical torture, to make them confess where the royal treasure was hidden.

It is evident from Miss Burney's diary that the King and Queen warmly championed the cause of Warren Hastings, who after a wearisome impeachment was acquitted.

In 1788, the King's insanity assumed a more violent form than usual, and on a report from the Privy Council, the subject was brought before Parliament. In the Commons, Pitt and the Tory party contended that the right of providing for the government of the country in cases where the monarch was unable to perform his duties, belonged to the nation at large, to be exercised by its representatives in Parliament. Fox and the Whigs, on the other hand, maintained that the Prince of Wales possessed the inherent right to assume the government. Pitt seizing this argument as it fell from Fox, said, at the moment, to the member seated nearest to him, "I'll unwhig the gentleman for the rest of his life."

During the discussions on the Regency Bill, Lord Thurlow, then Lord Chancellor, coquetted with both parties. When the King's recovery was announced by the royal physicians, Thurlow, to cover his treachery, made an extravagant speech, laudatory of the King, and in defence of Pitt's views. After enumerating the rewards received from the King, he said, "and if I forget the monarch who has thus befriended me, may my great Creator forget me." John Wilkes, who was present in the House of Lords, said in a stage aside, audible to many of the peers, "Forget you, he will see you damned first." Phillimore declares that Lord Chancellor Thurlow "either from an instinctive delight in all that was brutal" (which did not prevent him from being a gross hypocrite), "or from a desire to please George III.—supported the Slave Trade, and the horrors of the Middle Passage, with the uncompromising ferocity of a Liverpool merchant or a Guinea captain."

The Prince of Wales and the Duke of York exhibited indecent eagerness to have the King declared irrecoverably insane, and on

more than one occasion the Queen refused to allow either of these Royal Princes access to the King's person, on the ground that their violent conduct retarded his recovery. The Prince of Wales and Duke of York protested in writing against the Queen's hostility to them, and published the protest. Happy family, these Brunswicks! Dr. Doran declares: "There was assuredly no decency in the conduct of the Heir-apparent or of his next brother. They were gaily flying from club to club, party to party, and did not take the trouble even to assume the sentiment which they could not feel. 'If we were together,' says Lord Granville, in a letter inserted in his Memoirs, 'I would tell you some particulars of the Prince of Wales's behavior to the King and Queen, within these few days, that would make your blood run cold.' It was said that if the King could only recover and learn what had been said and done during his illness, he would hear enough to drive him again into insanity. The conduct of his eldest sons was marked by its savage inhumanity." Jesse says: "The fact is a painful one to relate, that on the 4th December—the day on which Parliament assembled, and when the King's malady was at its worst— the graceless youth (the Duke of York) not only held a meeting of the opposition at his own house, but afterwards proceeded to the House of Lords, in order to hear the depositions of the royal physicians read, and to listen to the painful details of his father's lunacy. Moreover, the same evening we track both the brothers (the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York) to Brooks's, where in a circle of boon companions, as irreverent as themselves, they are said to have been in the habit of indulging in the most shocking indecencies, of which the King's derangement was the topic. On such occasions, we are told, not only did they turn their parents into ridicule, and blab the secrets of the chamber of sickness at Windsor, but the Prince even went to such unnatural lengths as to employ his talents for mimicry, in which he was surpassed by few of his contemporaries, in imitating the ravings and gestures of his stricken father. As for the Duke of York, we are assured 'that the brutality of the stupid sot disgusted even the most profligate of his associates.'" Even after the King's return to reason had been vouched by the physicians, William Grenville, writing to Lord Buckingham, says that the two princes "amused themselves with spreading the report that the King was still out of his mind." When the great thanksgiving for the King's recovery took place at Saint Paul's the conduct of the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, in the Cathedral itself is described "as having been in the highest degree irreverent, if not indecent." Sir William Young writes to Lord Buckingham: "The day will come when Englishmen will bring these Princes to their senses." Alas for England, the day has not yet come!

In 1789, a great outcry was raised against the Duke of York on account of his licentiousness. In 1790, the printer of the *Times* newspaper was fined £100 for libelling the Prince of Wales, and a second £100 for libelling the Duke of York. It

was in this year that the Prince of Wales, and the Dukes of York and Clarence, issued joint and several bonds to an enormous amount—it is said. £1,000,000 sterling, and bearing 6 per cent. interest. These bonds were taken up chiefly abroad; and some Frenchmen who subscribed, being unable to obtain either principal or interest, applied to the Court of Chancery, in order to charge the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall. Others of the foreign holders of bonds had recourse to other proceedings to enforce their claims. In nearly every case the claimants were arrested by the Secretary of State's order, and sent out of England under the Alien Act, and when landed in their own country were again arrested for treasonable communication with the enemy, and perished on the scaffold. MM. De Baume, Chaudot, Mette, Aubert, Vaucher, and others, all creditors of the Prince, were thus arrested under the Duke of Portland's warrant, and on their deportation re-arrested for treason, and guillotined. Thus were some of the debts of the Royal Family of Brunswick settled, if not paid. Honest family, these Brunswicks!

George Prince of Wales and Frederick Duke of York were constant patrons of prize fights, races, and gambling tables, largely betting and not always paying their wagers when they lost. In the autumn of 1791 a charge was made against the Prince of Wales that he allowed his horse, Escape, to run badly on the 20th of October, and when heavily betted against caused the same horse to be ridden to win. A brother of Lord Lake, who was friendly to the Prince, and who managed some of his racing affairs, evidently believed there was foul play, and so did the Jockey Club, who declared that if the Prince permitted the same jockey, Samuel Chifney, to ride again, no gentleman would start against him. A writer employed by George Prince of Wales to defend his character says: "It may be asked, why did not the Prince of Wales declare upon his honor, that no foul play had been used with respect to Escape's first race? Such a declaration would at once have solved all difficulties, and put an end to all embarrassments. But was it proper for the Prince of Wales to have condescended to such a submission? Are there not sometimes suspicions of so disgraceful a nature afloat, and at the same time so improbable withal, that if the person who is the object of them, condescends to reply to them, he degrades himself? Was it to be expected of the Prince of Wales that he should purge himself, by oath, like his domestic? Or was it to be looked for, that the first subject in the realm, the personage whose simple word should have commanded deference, respect and belief, was to submit himself to the examination of the Jockey Club, and answer such questions as they might have thought proper to have proposed to him?"

This, coming from a family like the Brunswicks, and from one of four brothers, highnesses of Wales, York, Kent, and Cumberland, who had each in turn declared himself upon honor not guilty of some misdemeanor or felony, is worthy a note of

admiration. George, Prince of Wales, declared himself not guilty of bigamy; the Duke of York declared himself not guilty of selling promotion in the army. Both these Princes publicly declared themselves not guilty of the charge of trying to hinder their royal father's restoration to sanity. The Duke of Kent, the Queen's father, declared that he was no party to the subornation of witnesses against his own brother. The Duke of Cumberland pledged his oath that he had never been guilty of sodomy and murder.

In September, 1791, the Duke of York was married to the Princess Frederica, daughter of the King of Prussia, with whom he lived most unhappily for a few years. The only effect of this marriage on the nation was that £18,000 a year was voted as an extra allowance to his Royal Highness the Duke of York. This was in addition to 100,000 crowns given out of the Civil List as a marriage portion to the Princess. Dr. Doran says of the Duchess of York: "For six years she bore with treatment from the 'Commander-in-Chief' such as no trooper under him would have inflicted on a wife equally deserving. At the end of that time the ill-matched pair separated." Kind husbands, these Brunswicks!

In a print published on the 24th May, 1792, entitled "Vices Overlooked in the New Proclamation." *Avarice* is represented by King George and Queen Charlotte, hugging their hoarded millions with extreme satisfaction, a book of interest tables lying at hand. This print is divided into four compartments, representing: 1. Avarice; 2. Drunkenness, exemplified in the person of the Prince of Wales; 3. Gambling, the favorite amusement of the Duke of York; and 4. Debauchery, the Duke of Clarence and Mrs. Jordan—as the four notable vices of the Royal Family of Great Britain. If the print had to be reissued to-day, it would require no very vivid imagination to provide materials from the living members of the Royal Family to refill the four compartments.

Amongst remarkable trials in 1792, those of Daniel Hold and William Winterbottom illustrate the fashion in which the rule of the Brunswick monarchy has trenched on our political liberties. The former, a Nottingham printer, was convicted and sentenced to two years' imprisonment for republishing, verbatim, a political tract, originally circulated without prosecution by the Thatched House Tavern Association, of which Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Richmond had been members. The other, a dissenting minister at Plymouth, of highly respectable character, was convicted of sedition, and sentenced to four years' imprisonment in the gaol of Newgate, for two sermons preached in commemoration of the revolution of 1688. The indictment charged him with affirming, "That His Majesty was placed upon the throne on condition of keeping certain laws and rules, and if he does not observe them, he has no more right to the crown than the Stuarts had." All the Whigs in the kingdom might, doubtless, have been comprehended in a similar indictment. And if the doctrine affirmed

by the Rev. Mr. Winterbottom be denied, the monstrous reverse of the proposition follows, that the King is bound by no conditions or laws; and that, though resistance to the tyranny of the Stuarts might be justifiable, resistance under the same circumstances to the House of Brunswick, is not. This trial, for the cruelty and infamy attending it, has been justly compared to the celebrated one of Rosewell, in the latter years of Charles II., to the events of which those of 1792 exhibit, in various respects, a striking and alarming parallel.

Before his election to the National Convention, Thomas Paine published the second part of his "Rights of Man," in which he boldly promulgated principles which, though fiercely condemned at the date of their issue, are now being gradually accepted by the great mass of the people. Paine's work was spread through the kingdom with extraordinary industry, and was greedily sought for by people of all classes. Despite the great risk of fine and imprisonment, some of the most effective parts were printed on pieces of paper, which were used by Republican tradesmen as wrappers for their commodities. Proceedings were immediately taken against Thomas Paine as author of the obnoxious book, which was treated as a libel against the Government and Constitution, and on trial Paine was found guilty. He was defended with great ability by Erskine, who, when he left the court, was cheered by a crowd of people who had collected without, some of whom took his horses from his carriage, and dragged him home to his house in Serjeant's Inn. The name and opinions of Thomas Paine were at this moment gaining influence, in spite of the exertion made to put them down. From this time for several years, it is almost impossible to read a weekly journal without finding some instance of persecution for publishing Mr. Paine's political views.

The trial of Thomas Paine was the commencement of a series of State prosecutions, not for political offences, but for political designs. The name of Paine had caused much apprehension, but many even amongst the Conservatives dreaded the extension of the practice of making the publications of a man's abstract opinions criminal, when unaccompanied by any direct or open attempt to put them into effect. In the beginning of 1793 followed prosecutions in Edinburgh, where the ministerial influence was great, against men who had associated to do little more than call for reform in Parliament; and five persons, whose alleged crimes consisted chiefly in having read Paine's "Rights of Man," and in having expressed either a partial approbation of his doctrines, or a strong declaration in favor of Parliamentary reform, were transported severally—Joseph Gerrald, William Skirving, and Thomas Muir for fourteen, and Thomas Fyshe Palmer and Maurice Margarot for seven years! These men had been active in the political societies, and it was imagined that, by an exemplary injustice of this kind, these societies would be intimidated. Such, however, was not the case, for, from this moment, the clubs in Edinburgh became more active than ever,

and they certainly took a more dangerous character: so that, before the end of the year, there was actually a "British Convention" sitting in the Scottish capital. This was disssolved by force at the beginning of 1794, and two of its members were added to the convicts already destined for transportation. Their severe sentences provoked warm discussions in the English Parliament, but the ministers were inexorable in their resolution to put them into execution.

The extreme severity of the sentences passed on the Scottish political martyrs, even as judged by those admitting the legality and justice of their conviction, was so shameful as to rouse general interest. Barbarous as the law of Scotland appeared to be, it became a matter of doubt whether the Court of Justiciary had not exceeded its power in substituting the punishment of transportation for that of banishment, imposed by the Act of Queen Anne, for the offence charged on those men.

In 1794, the debts of the Prince of Wales then amounting to about £650,000, not including the amounts due on the foreign bonds, a marriage was suggested in order to give an excuse for going to Parliament for a vote. This was at a time when the Prince was living with Mrs. Fitzherbert as his wife, and when Lady Jersey was his most prominent mistress. The bride selected was Caroline of Brunswick. A poor woman for a wife, if Lord Malmesbury's picture is a true one, certainly in no sense a bad woman. But her husband, our prince! When she arrived in London George was not sober. His first words, after greeting her, were to Lord Malmesbury: "Get me a glass of brandy." Tipsy this Brunswicker went to the altar on April 8th, 1794; so tipsy that he got up from his knees too soon, and the King had to whisper him down, the Archbishop having halted in amaze in the ceremony. Here there is no possibility of mistake. The two dukes who were his best men at the wedding had their work to keep him from falling; and to one, the Duke of Bedford, he admitted that he had had several glasses of brandy before coming to the chapel.

Thackeray says: "What could be expected from a wedding which had such a beginning—from such a bridegroom and such a bride? Malmesbury gives us the beginning of the marriage story—how the Prince reeled into chapel to be married; how he hiccuped out his vows of fidelity—you know how he kept them; how he pursued the woman whom he had married; to what a state he brought her; with what blows he struck her; with what malignity he pursued her; what his treatment of his daughter was; and what his own life. *He* the first gentleman of Europe!"

The Parliament not only paid the Prince of Wales's debts, but gave him £28,000 for jewels and plate, and £26,000 for the furnishing of Carlton House.

On the 12th of May Mr. Henry Dundas brought down to the Commons a message from the King that seditious practices had been carried on by certain societies in London, in correspondence with other societies; that they had lately been pursued with

increasing activity and boldness, and had been avowedly directed to the assembling of a pretended National Convention, in contempt and defiance of the authority of Parliament, on principles subversive of the existing laws and the constitution, and tending to introduce that system of anarchy prevailing in France; that his Majesty had given orders for seizing the books and papers of those societies, which were to be laid before the House, to whom it was recommended to pursue measures necessary to counteract their pernicious tendency. A large collection of books and papers was, in consequence, brought down to the House, and referred to a committee of secresy. A few days after the following persons were committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason:—Mr. Thomas Hardy, a shoemaker in Piccadilly, who officiated as Secretary to the London Corresponding Society; Mr. Daniel Adams, Secretary to the Society for Constitutional Information; Mr. John Horne Tooke; Mr. Stewart Kid; Mr. Jeremiah Joyce, preceptor to Lord Mahon, eldest son of the Earl of Stanhope; and Mr. John Thelwall, who had for some time delivered lectures on political subjects in London.

Under the influence of excitement resulting from the Government statement of the discovery of a plot to assassinate the King, which plot never existed outside the brains of the Government spies, a Special Commission of Oyer and Terminer was issued on the 10th of September, 1794, for the Trial of the State prisoners confined in the Tower on a charge of high treason. On the 2nd of October the Commission was opened at the Session House, Clerkenwell, by Lord Chief Justice Eyre, in an elaborate charge to the grand jury. Bills were then found against all who had been arrested in May, except Daniel Adams. Hardy was first put on his trial at the Old Bailey. The trial commenced on the 28th of October, and continued with short adjournments until the 5th of November. Mr. Erskine was counsel for Hardy, and employed his great talents and brilliant eloquence with the most complete success. After consulting together for three hours, the jury, though the avowed friends of the then administration, returned a verdict of Not Guilty. There has seldom been a verdict given in a British court of justice which afforded more general satisfaction. It is doubtful whether there has been any verdict more important in its consequences to the liberties of the English people. On the 17th of November John Horne Tooke was put on his trial. The Duke of Richmond, Earl Camden, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Beaufoy, were subpœnaed by the prisoner; and the examination of William Pitt by Mr. Tooke and his counsel formed the most important feature in the trial, as the evidence of the Prime Minister tended to prove, that from the year 1780 to 1782, he himself had been actively engaged with Mr. Tooke and many others in measures of agitation to procure a Parliamentary reform, although he now not only deemed the attempt dangerous and improper, but sought to condemn it as treasonable, or at least as seditious. Mr. Erskine, who was counsel for Mr. Tooke also, in a most eloquent and powerful manner con-

tended that the conduct of his client was directed only to the same object as that previously sought by Pitt himself, and that the measures resorted to, so far from being criminal, were perfectly constitutional. Mr. Pitt was extremely guarded in his replies, and professed very little recollection of what passed at the meetings which he attended. A letter he had written to Mr. Tooke at that time on the subject, was handed to him, which he pretended he could scarcely recognise, and which the judge would not permit to be read. Mr. Sheridan, who was likewise engaged in the agitation for political reform, and subpœnaed by Mr. Tooke, gave unqualified evidence in favor of Mr. Tooke respecting the proceedings at those meetings. The trial continued till the Saturday following, when the jury were out of court only six minutes, and returned a verdict of Not Guilty!

The opening of Parliament was looked forward to with great anxiety, on account of the extreme distress under which the country was laboring. As the time approached, popular meetings were held in the metropolis, and preparations were made for an imposing demonstration. During the morning of the 29th of October, the day on which the King was to open the session in person, crowds of men continued pouring into the town from the various open spaces outside, where simultaneous meetings had been called by placards and advertisements; and before the King left Buckingham House, on his way to St. James's, the number of people collected on the ground over which he had to pass is admitted in the papers of the day to have been not less than two hundred thousand. At first the state carriage was allowed to move on through this dense mass in sullen silence, no hats being taken off, nor any other mark of respect being shown. Then came a general outburst of hisses and groans, mingled with shouts of "Give us peace and bread!" "No war!" "No King!" "Down with him!" "Down with George!" and the like; and this tumult continued unabated until the King reached the House of Lords, the Guards with difficulty keeping the mob from closing on the carriage. As it passed through Margaret Street the populace seemed determined to attack it, and when opposite the Ordnance Office a stone passed through the glass of the carriage window. A verse published the following day says:—

"Folks say it was lucky the stone missed the head,
When lately at Cæsar 'twas thrown;
I think very different from thousands indeed,
'Twas a lucky escape for the stone."

The demonstration was even more fierce on the King's return, and he had some difficulty in reaching St. James's Palace without injury; for the mob threw stones at the state carriage and damaged it considerably. After remaining a short time at St. James's, he proceeded in his private coach to Buckingham House, but the carriage was stopped in the Park by the populace, who, pressed round it, shouting "Bread, bread! Peace, peace!"

until the King was rescued from this unpleasant situation by a strong body of the Guards.

Treason and Sedition Acts were hurried through Parliament to repress the cries of the hungry for bread, whilst additional taxes were imposed to make the poor poorer.

That the terrible French war—of which it is impossible to give any account in the limits of this essay, a war which cost Great Britain at least £1,000,000,000 in hard cash, without reckoning the hundreds of thousands of killed, wounded, and pauperised, and which Buckle calls "the most hateful, the most unjust, and the most atrocious war England has ever waged against any country"—directly resulted from our government under the Brunswick family, is a point on which it is impossible for anyone who has examined the facts, to have serious doubt. Sir Archibald Alison tells us that early in 1791, "The King of England took a vivid interest in the misfortunes of the Royal Family of France, promising, as Elector of Hanover, to concur in any measures which might be deemed necessary to extricate them from their embarrassments; and he sent Lord Elgin to Leopold who was then travelling in Italy, to concert measures for the common object." It was as Elector of Hanover also that his grandfather, George II., had sacrificed English honor and welfare to the personal interest and family connexions of these wretched Brunswicks. It is certain, too, that after years of terrible war, on one of the occasions of negociation for peace, hindrances arose because our Government insisted on describing George III., in the preliminaries, as "King of France." The French naturally said: First, your King George has never been King of any part of France at any time; and next, we, having just declared France a Republic, cannot in a solemn treaty recognise the continued existence of a claim to Monarchy over us. It was not until the year 1800 that the title "King of France" was abandoned by George IV. and the *fleur de lys* erased from the royal arms.

The following table shows how the labor of the British nation was burdened for generations to come by the insane affection of the House of Brunswick for the House of Bourbon:

YEARS.		TAXES.		LOANS.
1793	...	£17,656,418	...	£25,926,526
1794	...	17,170,400	...	—
1795	...	17,308,411	...	51,705,698
1796	...	17,858,454	...	56.945,566
1797	...	18,737,760	...	25,350,000
1798	...	20,654,650	...	35,624,250
1799	...	30,202,915	...	21,875,300
1800	...	35,229,968	...	29,045,000
1801	...	33,896,464	...	44,816,250
1802	...	35,415,296	...	41,489,438
1803	...	37,240,213	...	16,000,000
1804	...	37,677,063	...	18,200,000

YEARS.		TAXES.		LOANS.
1805	...	£45,359,442	...	£39,543,124
1806	...	49,659,281	...	29,880,000
1807	...	53,304,254	...	18,373,200
1808	...	58,390,255	...	13,693,254
1809	...	61,538,207	...	21,278,122
1810	...	63,405,294	...	19,811,108
1811	...	66,681,366	...	29,244,711
1812	...	64,763,870	...	40,743,031
1813	...	63,169,845	...	54,780,324
1814	...	66,925,835	...	63,645,930
1815	...	69,684,192	...	70,888,402
Total	...	£981,929,853	...	£768,858,934

The actual naval and military expenditure for the foregoing years is £989,636,449.

After making some deductions on account of the operations of the *loyalty loan*, and the transfer of annuities, the total debt contracted from 1793 to 1815 amounts to £762,537,445. If to this sum be added the increase in the unfunded debt during that period, and the additional sums raised by taxes in consequence of hostilities, we shall have the total expenditure, owing to the French war as follows:—

Debt contracted from 1793 to 1815	...	£762,537,445
Increase in the Unfunded Debt	...	50,104,060
War Taxes...	...	614,488,459
Total	...	1,427,219,964
Deduct sum paid to the Commissioners for reduction of the National Debt	...	173,309,383
Total cost of the French War	...	1,253,910,581

Lord Fife, in the House of Lords, said that "in this horrid war he had first witnessed the blood and treasure of the nation expended in the extravagant folly of secret expeditions, which had invariably proved either abortive or unsuccessful. Grievous and heavy taxes had been laid on the people, and wasted in expensive embassies, and in subsidising proud, treacherous, and useless foreign princes."

In 1795 King George and his advisers tried by statute to put a stop for ever in this country to all political or religious discussion. No meeting was to be held, except on five days' duly advertised notice, to be signed by householders; and if for lectures or debates, on special license by a magistrate. Power was given to any magistrate to put an end in his discretion to any meeting, and to use military force in the event of twelve persons remaining one hour after notice. If a man lent books, newspapers, or pamphlets, without license, he might be fined twenty pounds for every offence. If he permitted lectures or debates

on any subject whatever, he might be fined one hundred pounds a day. And yet people dare to tell us that we owe our liberties to these Brunswicks.

On the 1st of June, 1795, Gillray, in a caricature entitled "John Bull Ground Down," represented Pitt grinding John Bull into money, which was flowing out in an immense stream beneath the mill. The Prince of Wales is drawing off a large portion to pay the debts incurred by his extravagance; while Dundas, Burke, and Loughborough, as the representatives of ministerial pensioners, are scrambling for the rest. King George encourages Pitt to grind without mercy. Another caricature by Gillray, published on the 4th of June, represents Pitt as Death on the White Horse (the horse of Hanover) riding over a drove of pigs, representatives of those whom Burke had termed the "swinish multitude."

On the 7th January, 1796, the Princess Charlotte of Wales was born, and on the 30th of April George Prince of Wales wrote to the Princess Caroline, stating that he did not intend to live with her any more. The Prince had some time previously sent by Lord Cholmondeley a verbal message to the same effect, which the Princess had refused to accept. The mistress reigning over the Prince of Wales at this time was Lady Jersey.

During the American war, when there were no troops in Ireland, and when, under Flood and Grattan, the volunteers were in arms, some concessions had been made to the Irish people. A few obnoxious laws had been repealed, and promises had been held out of some relaxation of the fearfully oppressive laws against the Catholics. From the correspondence of Earl Temple it is clear that in 1782 not only was the King against any further concession whatever, but that his Majesty and Lord Shelburne actually manœuvred to render the steps already taken as fruitless as possible. We find W. W. Grenville admitting, on the 15th December, 1782, "that the [Irish] people are really miserable and oppressed to a degree I had not at all conceived." The Government acted dishonestly to Ireland. The consequence was continued misery and disaffection, and this state of things is directly traceable to the King's wilfulness on Irish affairs. It illustrates the character of the Government, that Lord Temple, when Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, wrote to his brother in cipher, because his letters were opened in the Post-office by Lord Shelburne. The Parliament of Ireland was in great part owned by absentee peers, and each change of Lord-Lieutenancy was marked by heavy addition to the Pension List. The continuance of the Catholic disabilities rendered permanent quiet impossible. Three-fourths of the nation were legally and socially almost outlawed. The national discontent was excited by the arbitrary conduct of the authorities, and hopes of successful revolution were encouraged, after 1789, by the progress of the Revolution in France.

About 1790, the "United Irishmen" first began to be heard of. Their object was "a complete reform in the Legislature,

founded on the principles of civil, political, and religious liberty." The clubs soon became secret associations, and were naturally soon betrayed. Prosecutions for sedition in 1793 were soon followed by military repression.

Lord Moira, in the House of Lords in 1797, in a powerful speech which remained without refutation, described the Government of Ireland as "the most absurd, as well as the most disgusting, tyranny that any nation ever groaned under." He said: "If such a tyranny be persevered in, the consequence must inevitably be the deepest and most universal discontent, and even hatred to the English name. I have seen in that country a marked distinction made between the English and Irish. I have seen troops that have been sent full of this prejudice—that every inhabitant in that kingdom is a rebel to the British Government. I have seen the most wanton insults practised upon men of all ranks and conditions. I have seen the most grievous oppressions exercised, in consequence of a presumption that the person who was the unfortunate object of such oppression was in hostility to the Government; and yet that has been done in a part of the country as quiet and as free from disturbance as the city of London." His Lordship then observed that, "from education and early habits, the *curfew* was ever considered by Britons as a badge of slavery and oppression. It was then practised in Ireland with brutal rigor. He had known an instance where the master of a house had in vain pleaded to be allowed the use of a candle, to enable the mother to administer relief to her daughter struggling in convulsive fits. In former times, it had been the custom for Englishmen to hold the infamous proceedings of the Inquisition in detestation. One of the greatest horrors with which it was attended was that the person, ignorant of the crime laid to his charge, or of his accuser, was torn from his family, immured in a prison, and kept in the most cruel uncertainty as to the period of his confinement, or the fate which awaited him. To this injustice, abhorred by Protestants in the practice of Inquisition, were the people of Ireland exposed. All confidence, all security were taken away. When a man was taken up on suspicion, he was put to the torture; nay, if he were merely accused of concealing the guilt of another. The rack, indeed, was not at hand; but the punishment of picqueting was in practice, which had been for some years abolished as too inhuman, even in the dragoon service. He had known a man, in order to extort a confession of a supposed crime, or of that of some of his neighbors, picqueted till he actually fainted—picqueted a second time till he fainted again, and, as soon as he came to himself, picqueted a third time till he once more fainted; and all upon mere suspicion! Nor was this the only species of torture. Men had been taken and hung up till they were half dead, and then threatened with a repetition of the cruel treatment, unless they made confession of the imputed guilt. These were not particular acts of cruelty exercised by men abusing the power committed to them, but they

formed part of our system. They were notorious, and no person could say who would be the next victim of this oppression and cruelty, which he saw others endure. This, however, was not all; their lordships, no doubt, would recollect the famous proclamation issued by a military commander in Ireland, required the people to give up their arms. It never was denied that this proclamation was illegal, though defended on some supposed necessity; but it was not surprising that some reluctance had been shown to comply with it by men who conceived the Constitution gave them a right to keep arms in their houses for their own defence; and they could not but feel indignation in being called upon to give up their right. In the execution of the order the greatest cruelties had been committed. If anyone was suspected to have concealed weapons of defence, his house, his furniture, and all his property were burnt; but this was not all. If it were supposed that any district had not surrendered all the arms which it contained, a party was sent out to collect the number at which it was rated; and in execution of this order, thirty houses were sometimes burnt down in a single night. Officers took upon themselves to decide discretionally the quantity of arms; and upon their opinions the fatal consequences followed. These facts were well known in Ireland, but they could not be made public through the channel of the newspapers, for fear of that summary mode of punishment which had been practised towards the *Northern Star*, when a party of troops in open day, and in a town where the General's head quarters were, went and destroyed all the offices and property belonging to that paper. It was thus authenticated accounts were suppressed."

Can anyone wonder that the ineffectual attempts at revolution of 1798 followed such a state of things? And when, in the *London Chronicle* and *Cambridge Intelligencer*, and other journals by no means favorable to Ireland or its people, we read the horrid stories of women ravished, men tortured, and farms pillaged, all in the name of law and order, and this by King George's soldiers, not more than seventy years ago, can we feel astonishment that the Wexford peasants have grown up to hate the Saxon oppressor? And this we owe to a family of kings who used their pretended Protestantism as a cloak for the ill-treatment of our Catholic brethren in Ireland. In impeaching the Brunswicks, we remind the people of proclamations officially issued in the King's name, threatening to burn and devastate whole parishes, and we allege that this disaffection in Ireland at the present moment is the natural fruit of the utter regardlessness on the part of these Guelphs of human liberty, or happiness, or life. The grossest excesses were perpetrated in Ireland by King George III.'s foreign auxiliaries The troops from Hesse Cassel, from Hesse Darmstadt, and from Hanover, earned an unenviable notoriety by their cruelty, rapacity, and licentiousness. And these we owe entirely to the Brunswicks.

A letter from the War Office, dated April 11th, 1798, shows how foreigners were specially selected for the regiments sent

over to Ireland. Sir Ralph Abercromby publicly rebuked the King's army, of which he was the Commander-in-Chief, for its disgraceful irregularities and licentiousness. Even Lieutenant-General Lake admits that "the determination of the troops to destroy everyone they think a rebel is beyond description, and needs correction."

On the 12th July, 1799, an Act was passed by which the Societies of the United Englishmen, United Scotsmen, United Irishmen, and United Britons, and the said society commonly called the London Corresponding Society, and all other societies called Corresponding Societies of any other city, town, or place, were declared to be utterly suppressed and prohibited.

In 1801, it was announced that King George III. was suffering from severe cold and sore throat, and could not, therefore, go out in public. His disease, however, was more mental than bodily. Her present Majesty has also suffered from severe cold and sore throat, but except the declaration made by Mr. Disraeli in 1871 no allegation is ventured that her mental condition is such as to unfit her for Royal duties.

On March 29th, 1802, the sum of £990,053 was voted for payment of the King's debts.

In 1803, the Prince of Wales being again in debt, a further vote was passed of £60,000 a year for three years and a-half. Endeavors were made to increase this grant, but marvellous to relate, the House of Commons actually acted as if it had some slight interest in the welfare of the people, and rejected a motion of Mr. Calcraft for a further vote of money to enable his Royal Highness to maintain his state and dignity. The real effect of the vote actually carried was to provide for £800,649 of the Prince's debts, including the vote of 1794.

In 1804, the sum of £591,842 was voted for payment of the King's debts.

In 1804, King George was very mad, but Mr. Addington explained to Parliament that there was nothing in his Majesty's indisposition to prevent his discharging the Royal functions. Mr. Gladstone also recently explained to Parliament that there would be no delay in the prorogation of Parliament in consequence of her gracious Majesty's indisposition and absence.

In 1805, the House of Commons directed the criminal prosecution of Lord Melville, for corrupt conduct and embezzlement of public money, as first Lord of the Admiralty. For this, however, impeachment was substituted, and on his trial before the House of Peers, he was acquitted, as out of 136 peers, only 59 said that they thought him guilty, although he had admitted the misapplication of £10,000.

In 1805, £10,458 was voted for the King's debts.

On the 29th of March, 1806, a warrant was signed by King George III., directed to Lord Chancellor Erskine, to Lord Grenville, the Prime Minister, to Lord Ellenborough, then Lord Chief Justice of England, and to Earl Spencer, commanding them to inquire into the conduct of Her Royal Highness the

Princess of Wales. Before these Lords Charlotte Lady Douglas swore that she had visited the Princess, who confessed to having committed adultery, saying "that she got a bedfellow whenever she could, that nothing was more wholesome." Lady Douglas further swore to the Princess's pregnancy, and evidence was given to prove that she had been delivered of a male child. The whole of this evidence was found to be perjury, and Lady Douglas was recommended for prosecution. The only person to be benefited was George Prince of Wales, who desired to be divorced from his wife, and it is alleged that he suborned these witnesses to commit perjury against her. At this time the Prince of Wales himself had just added Lady Hertford to an almost interminable muster-roll, and was mixed up in a still more strange and disgraceful transaction, in which he used his personal influence to canvass Peers—sitting as the highest law court in the realm in order to induce them to vote the guardianship of Miss Seymour, a niece of Lady Hertford, to Mrs. Fitzherbert. Spencer Perceval, who acted for the Princess of Wales, being about to publish the whole of the proceedings of the Royal Commissioners, with the evidence and their verdict, his book was quietly suppressed, and he received a reward—a post in the Cabinet. It is said that George III. directed the report of the Commissioners to be destroyed, and every trace of the whole affair to be buried in oblivion.

For some years rumors had been current of corruption in the administration of military promotion under the Duke of York, just as for some time past rumors have been current of abuse of patronage under his Royal Highness the present Duke of Cambridge. A Major Hogan, in 1808, published a declaration that he had lost his promotion because he had refused to give the sum of £600 to the Duke of York's "Venus."

On the 27th January, 1809, Colonel Wardle—who is said to have been prompted to the course by His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent—rose in his place in the House of Commons, and formally charged his Royal Highness Frederick Duke of York with corruption in the administration of army patronage.

It is difficult to determine how far credit should be given to the statements of Mrs. Clarke, who positively alleges that she was bribed to betray the Duke of York by his brother, the Duke of Kent, the father of her present Majesty. It is quite certain that Major Dodd, the then secretary of the Duke of Kent, was most active in collecting and marshalling the evidence in support of the various charges made in the Commons against the Duke of York. The Duke of Kent, however, after the whole business was over, formally and officially denied that he was directly or indirectly mixed up with the business. It is clear that much bitter feeling had for some time existed between the Dukes of York and Kent. In a pamphlet published about that time, we find the following remarkable passages relating to the Duke of Kent's removal from his military command at Gibraltar:—"It is, however, certain that the creatures whom we could name, and who

are most in his [the Duke of York's] confidence, were, to a man, instructed and industriously employed in traducing the character and well-merited fame of the Duke of Kent, by misrepresenting his conduct with all the baseness of well-trained sycophants. Moreover, we need not hesitate in saying that this efficient Commander-in-Chief, contrary to the real sentiments of his Majesty, made use of his truly dangerous and undue influence with the confidential servants of the Crown to get his brother recalled from the Government of Gibraltar, under a disingenuous pretext, and at the risk of promoting sedition in the army."

In another pamphlet, dated 1808, apparently printed on behalf of the Duke of Kent, we find it suggested that the Duke of York had used Sir Hew Dalrymple as a spy on his brother, the Duke of Kent, at Gibraltar. Whether the Duke of York slandered the Duke of Kent, and whether the Queen's father revenged himself by getting up the case for Colonel Wardle, others must decide. The following is from Colonel Wardle's speech in the House of Commons:—

"In the year 1803, His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief took a handsome house, set up a full retinue of servants and horses, and also a lady of the name of Clarke. Captain Tonyn, of the 48th Regiment, was introduced by Captain Sandon, of the Royal Waggon Train, to this Mrs. Clarke, and it was agreed that, upon his being promoted to the majority of the 31st Regiment, he should pay her £500. The £500 lodged with Mr. Donovan by Captain Sandon was paid by him to Mrs. Clarke. The difference between a company and a majority is £1,100; this lady received only £500, while the half-pay fund lost the whole sum, for the purpose of putting £500 into the pocket of Mrs. Clarke. This £500 was paid by Mrs. Clarke to Mr. Perkins, a silversmith, in part payment for a service of plate; that the Commander-in-Chief made good the remainder, and that the goods were sent to his house in Gloucester Place. From this I infer, first, that Mrs. Clarke possesses the power of military promotion; secondly, that she received a pecuniary consideration for such promotion; and, thirdly, that the Commander-in-Chief was a partaker in the benefit arising from such transactions. In this case, there are no less than five different persons as witnesses—viz., Major Tonyn, Mrs. Clarke, Mr. Donovan, Captain Sandon, and the executor of Mr. Perkins, the silversmith.

"The next instance is of Lieutenant Colebrooke, of the 56th Regiment. It was agreed that Mrs. Clarke should receive £200 upon Lieutenant Colebrooke's name appearing in the *Gazette* for promotion. At that moment this lady was anxious to go on an excursion into the country, and she stated to His Royal Highness that she had an opportunity of getting £200 to defray the expenses of it, without applying to him. This was stated upon a Thursday, and on the Saturday following this officer's name appeared in the *Gazette*, and he was accordingly promoted; upon which Mr. Tuck waited on the lady and paid her the money.

To this transaction the witnesses are Lieutenant Colebrooke, Mr. Tuck, and Mrs. Clarke."

After instancing further cases, Colonel Wardle stated that:—"At this very hour there is a public office in the City where commissions are still offered at the reduced prices which Mrs. Clarke chooses to exact for them. The agents there have declared to me that they are now employed by the present favorite, Mrs. Carey. They have not only declared this as relative to military commissions, but they have carried it much further; for, in addition to commissions in the army, places of all descriptions, both in Church and State, are transacted at their office, and these agents do not hesitate to give it under their own hands that they are employed by many of the first officers in his Majesty's service."

On the examination of witnesses, and general inquiry, which lasted seven weeks, the evidence was overwhelming; but the Duke of York having written a letter, pledging his honor as a Prince that he was innocent, was acquitted, although at least 112 members of Parliament voted for a verdict of condemnation. Lord Temple said that "he found the Duke of York deeply criminal in allowing this woman to interfere in his official duties. The evidence brought forward by accident furnished convincing proof of his crime. It was evident in French's levy. It was evident in the case of Dr. O'Meara, this minister of purity, this mirror of virtue, who, professing a call from God, could so far debase himself, so far abuse his sacred vocation, as to solicit a recommendation from such a person as Mrs. Clarke, by which, with an eye to a bishopric, he obtained an opportunity of preaching before the King. What could be said in justification of his Royal Highness for allowing this hypocrite to come down to Weymouth under a patronage unbecoming his duty, rank, and situation?"

Mr. Tierney said: "It was easy to conceive that his Royal Highness would have been prompt to declare his innocence upon a vital point; but why declare it upon the 'honor of a Prince,' for the thing had no meaning?"

Mr. Lyttleton declared that "if it were in the power of the House to send down to posterity the character of the Duke of York unsullied—if their proceedings did not extend beyond their journals, he should be almost inclined to concur in the vote of acquittal, even in opposition of his sense of duty. But though the House should acquit his Royal Highness, the proofs would still remain, and the public opinion would be guided by them, and not by the decision of the House. It was in the power of the House to save its own character, but not that of the Commander-in-Chief."

It is alleged that the Queen herself by no means stood with clean hands: that in connexion with Lady Jersey and a Doctor Randolph, her Majesty realised an enormous sum by the sale of cadetships for the East Indies.

On the 31st May, 1810, London was startled by the narrative

of a terrible tragedy. His Royal Highness Ernest Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, afterwards King of Hanover, and who, while King of Hanover, drew £24,000 a year from the pockets of English taxpayers, was wounded in his own room in the dead of the night by some man whom he did not see, although the room was lighted by a lamp, although his Royal Highness saw "a letter" which lay on a night table, and which letter was "covered with blood." The wounds are said to have been sword wounds inflicted with an attempt to assassinate, by Joseph Sellis, a valet of the Duke, who is also said to have immediately afterwards committed suicide by cutting his own throat. General Sir B. Stephenson, who saw the body of Sellis, but who was not examined at the inquest, swore that "the head was nearly severed from the body." Sellis's cravat had been cut through and taken off his neck. Sir Everard Home and Sir Henry Halford were the physicians present at St. James's Palace the day of this tragedy, and two surgeons were present at the inquest, but no medical or surgical evidence was taken as to whether or not the death of Sellis was the result of suicide or murder; but a cheesemonger was called to prove that twelve years before he had heard Sellis say, "Damn the King and the Royal Family;" and a maid-servant was called to prove that fourteen years before Sellis had said "Damn the Almighty." Despite this conclusive evidence, many horrible rumors were current which at the time were left uncontradicted; but on the 17th April, 1832, his Royal Highness, the Duke of Cumberland made an affidavit in which he swore that he had not murdered Sellis himself, and that "in case the said person named Sellis did not die by his own hands," then that he, the Duke, "was not in any way, in any manner, privy or accessory to his death." His Royal Highness also swore that "he never did commit, nor had any intention of committing, the detestable crime," which it had been pretended Sellis had discovered the Duke in the act of committing. This of course entirely clears the Queen's uncle from all suspicion. Daniel O'Connel, indeed, described him as "the mighty great liar," but with the general character for truthfulness of the family, it would be in the highest degree improper to suggest even the semblance of a doubt. It was proved upon the inquest that Sellis was a sober, quiet man, in the habit of daily shaving the Duke, and that he had never exhibited any suicidal or homicidal tendencies. It therefore appears that he tried to wound or kill his Royal Highness without any motive, and under circumstances in which he knew discovery was inevitable, and that he then killed himself with a razor, cutting his head almost off his body, severing it to the bone. When Matthew Henry Grashn first saw the body, he "told them all that Sellis had been murdered," and although he was called on the inquest, he does not say one word as to the condition of Sellis's body, or as to whether or not he believes it to have been a suicide. Of all the persons who saw the body of Sellis, and they appear to be many, only one, a sergeant in the Coldstreams,

gave the slightest evidence as to the state in which the body was found, and no description whatever was given on the inquest of the nature of the fearful wound which had nearly severed Sellis's head from his body; nor, although it was afterwards proved by sworn evidence that Sellis's cravat "was cut through the whole of the folds, and the inside fold was tinged with blood," was any evidence offered as to this on the inquest, although it shows that Sellis must have first tried to cut his throat through his cravat, and that having partially but ineffectively cut his throat, he then took off his cravat and gave himself with tremendous force the gash which caused his death. It is said that the razor with which Sellis killed himself was found two feet from the bed, and on the left-hand side; but although it was stated that Sellis was a left-handed man, no evidence was offered of this, and on the contrary, the bloody hand marks, said to have been made by Sellis on the doors, were all on the right-hand. It is a great nuisance when people you are mixed up with commit suicide. Undoubtedly, Sellis must have killed himself. The journals tell us how Lord Graves killed himself long years afterward. The Duke of Cumberland and Lady Graves, the widow, rode out together very shortly after the suicide.

In the Rev. Erskine Neale's Life of the Duke of Kent it is stated that a surgeon of note, who saw Sellis after his death, declared that there were several wounds on the back of the neck which it was physically impossible could have been self-inflicted. In a lecture to his pupils the surgeon repeated this in strong language; declaring that "no man can behead himself."

The madness of George III. having become too violent and too continual to permit it to be any longer hidden from the people, the Prince of Wales was, in 1811, declared Regent, with limited powers, and £70,000 a year additional was voted for the Regent's expenses, and a further £10,000 a year also granted to the Queen as custodian of her husband. The grant to the Queen was the more outrageous, as her great wealth and miserly conduct were well known. When the Regent was first appointed, he authorised the Chancellor of the Exchequer to declare officially, to the House of Commons, that he would not add to the burdens of the nation; and yet, in 1812, the allowance voted was made retrospective, so as to include every hour of his office.

In the discussion in Parliament on the proposed Regency, it appeared that the people had been for a considerable period utterly deceived on the subject of the King's illness; and that although his Majesty had been for some time blind, deaf and delirious, the Ministry, representing the King to be competent, had dared to carry on the Government whilst George III. was in every sense incapacitated. It is worthy of notice that the Right Honorable Benjamin Disraeli, the leader of the great Conservative party in this country, publicly declared on September 26th, 1871, that her present Majesty, Queen Victoria,

was both "physically and morally" incapable of performing her regal functions. One advantage of having the telegraph wires in the hands of Government is shown by the fact that all the telegraphic summaries omitted the most momentous words of Mr. Disraeli's speech. Benjamin Disraeli has since accepted a peerage from the lady whom he thus described as morally incapable. During the debate in the session 1811 it was shown that when the King was mad in the month of March, 1804, he had on the 4th been represented by Lord Eldon as if he had given his assent to a Bill granting certain lands to the Duke of York, and on the 9th as if he had signed a commission. Earl Grey stated that it was notorious that on two occasions the Great Seal had been employed as it by his Majesty's command, while he was insane. The noble earl also declared that in 1801 the King was mad for some weeks, and yet during that time councils were held, members sworn, and acts done requiring the King's sanction. Sir Francis Burdett said, "that to have a person at the head of affairs who had long been incapable of signing his name to a document without some one to guide his hand; a person long incapable of receiving petitions, of even holding a levée, or discharging the most ordinary functions of his office, and now afflicted with this mental malady, was a most mischievous example to the people of this country, while it had a tendency to expose the Government to the contempt of foreign nations."

One of the earliest acts of the Prince Regent was to re-appoint his brother, the Duke of York, to the office of Commander-in-Chief. A motion was made by Lord Milton, in the House of Commons, declaring this appointment to be "highly improper and indecorous." The Ministry were, however, sufficiently powerful to negative this resolution by a large majority. Though his Royal Highness had resigned his high office when assailed with charges of the grossest corruption, he was permitted to resume the command of the army without even a protest, save from a minority of the House of Commons, and from a few of the unrepresented masses. The chief mistress of the Prince Regent at this time was the Marchioness of Hertford; and the *Courier*, then the Ministerial journal, had the cool impudence to speak of her as "Britain's guardian angel," because her influence had been used to hinder the carrying of any measure for the relief of the Irish Catholics. Amongst the early measures under the Regency was the issue in Ireland of a circular letter addressed to the Sheriffs and Lord-Lieutenants of the counties forbidding the meetings of Catholics, and threatening all Catholic committees with arrest and imprisonment This, however, was so grossly illegal that it had shortly after to be abandoned, a Protestant jury having refused to convict the first prisoners brought to trial. It is curious to read the auguments against Catholic Emancipation pleaded in the *Courier*, one being that during the whole of his reign George III., "is known to have felt the most conscientious and irrevocable objection" to any such measure of justice to his unfortunate Irish subjects.

In 1812 we had much poverty in England; and although this was not dealt with by Parliament, £100,000 was granted to Lord Wellington, and £200,000 voted for Russian sufferers by the French War. We had a few months previously voted £100,000 for the relief of the Portuguese against the French. On a message from the Prince Regent, annuities of £9,000 each were also granted to the four Princesses, exclusive of £4,000 from the Civil List. The message from the Prince Regent for the relief of the "Russian sufferers" was brought down on the 17th of December; and it is a curious fact that, while Lord Castlereagh and Lord Liverpool were eulogising the Russians for their "heroic patriotism" in burning Moscow, the Russians themselves were declaring in the *St. Petersburgh Gazette* that the deed was actually committed by "the impious French," on whose heads the *Gazette* invoked the vengeance of God.

In 1812 the Prince Regent gave a sinecure office, that of Paymaster of Widows' Pensions, to his "confidential servant," Colonel Macmahon. The nature of the private services which had been for some years performed by this gallant colonel for this virtuous Prince may be better guessed than described. Mr. Henry Brougham declared the appointment to be an insult to Parliament; and, in obedience to the voice of popular opinion, the Commons voted the immediate abolition of the office. To recompense Colonel Macmahon for the loss of his place, he was immediately appointed keeper of the Privy Purse and Private Secretary to the Prince Regent. This appointment was also severely criticised; and although the Government was sufficiently powerful to defeat the attack in the Commons, they were yet compelled, by the strong protest made by the public against such an improper appointment, to nominally transfer the salary to the Regent's privy purse. The transfer was not real, as, the Civil List being always in debt, the nation had ultimately to pay the money.

In 1813 foreign subsidies to the amount of £11,000,000, and 100,000 stands of arms were voted by the English Parliament. Out of the above Portugal received £2,000,000, Sicily £400,000, Spain £2,000,000, Sweden £1,000,000, Russia and Prussia £3,000,000, Austria £1,000,000, besides stores sent to Germany to the amount of £2,000,000 more.

This year his Royal Highness the Prince Regent went to Ascot races, where he was publicly dunned by a Mr. Vauxhall Clarke for a betting debt incurred some years before, and left unpaid.

Great excitement was created in and out of Parliament by the complaint of the Princess of Wales that she was not allowed to see her daughter, the Princess Charlotte. The Prince Regent formally declared, through the Speaker of the House of Commons, that he would not meet, on any occasion, public or private, the Princess of Wales (whom it was urged that "he had been forced to marry"); while the Princess of Wales wrote a formal letter to Parliament complaining that her character had

been "traduced by suborned perjury." Princess Charlotte refused to be presented at Court except by her mother, who was not allowed to go there. In the House of Commons, Mr. Whitbread challenged the Lords Commissioners with unduly straining the evidence by leading questions; and Lord Ellenborough, in his place in the House of Peers, declared that the accusation was "as false as hell." Ultimately it was admitted that the grave charges against the Princess of Wales were groundless, and £35,000 a year was voted to her, she agreeing to travel abroad. Mr. Bathurst, a sinecurist pensioner, pleading on behalf of the Prince Regent that the House of Commons ought not to interfere, urged that it was no unusual thing to have dissensions in the Royal Family, and that they had been frequent in the reigns of George I. and George II. Mr. Stuart Wortley, in the course of a severe speech in reply to Lord Castlereagh, declared that "we had a Royal Family which took no warning from what was said or thought about them, and seemed to be the only persons in the country who were wholly regardless of their own welfare and respectability."

The Princess Charlotte of Wales was at this time residing in Warwick House, and some curiosity was aroused by the dismissal, by order of the Prince Regent, of all the servants. This was immediately followed by the flight of the Princess from the custody of her father to the residence of her mother, the Princess of Wales. Persuaded to return to the Prince Regent by her mother, Lord Eldon, and others, she appears to have been really detained as a sort of prisoner, for we find the Duke of Sussex soon after complaining in the House of Lords that he was unable to obtain access to the Princess, and asking by whose authority she was kept in durance. Happy family, these Brunswicks!

In 1814, £100,000 further was voted to the Duke of Wellington, together with an annuity of £10,000 a year to be at any time commuted for £300,000. The income of the Duke of Wellington from places, pensions, and grants, amounted to an enormous sum. At present we pay his heir £4,000 a year for having inherited his father's riches.

During the year 1814, £218,857 was voted for the payment of the Civil List debts.

The Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia, after the restoration of Louis XVIII., visited the Prince Regent in this country when the following squib was published:

"There be princes three,
Two of them come from a far countrie,
And for valor and prudence their name shall be
Enrolled in the annals of glorie.
The third is said at a bottle to be
More than a match for his whole armie,
And fonder of fur caps and fripperie
Than any recorded in storie.
Those from the North great warriors be,
And warriors have in their companie,

But he of the south must stare to see
Himself in such goodly companie.
For to say what his usual consorts be,
Would make but a pitiful storie.

On the 12th of August, 1814, the Princess of Wales quitted England, and it is alleged that on the evening prior to her departure the Prince Regent, having, as usual, drunk much wine, proposed a toast, "To the Princess of Wales's damnation, and may she never return to England." Whether this story, which Dr. Doran repeats, be true or false, it is certain that the Prince Regent hated his wife with a thoroughly merciless hatred. When the death of Napoleon was known in England, a gentleman, thinking to gain favor with George IV., said, "Your Majesty's bitterest enemy is dead." The "first gentleman of Europe" thought only of his wife, and replied, "Is she, by God!"

The highly esteemed and virtuous Duke of Cumberland was married at Berlin, to the Princess of Sams, a widow who had been twice marred, once betrothed and once divorced. The lady was niece to the Queen of England, who refused to receive her publicly or privately. On this refusal being known, a letter was published, written and signed by the Queen herself, to her brother, the Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, the father of the bride, in which letter the Queen gave assurances of a kind reception to the bride on her arrival in England. The Queen's friends replied that the Queen's letter was only written to be shown to the German Courts on the condition that the Duchess should not come to England. Curious notions of truth and honor seem current among these Brunswicks!

On the 27th of June the Lords, on a message from the Prince Regent, voted an additional allowance of £6,000 a-year to the Duke of Cumberland in consequence of the marriage. In the House of Commons, after a series of very warm debates, in which Lord Castlereagh objected to answer "any interrogatories tending to vilify the Royal Family, the House ultimately refused to grant the allowance by 126 votes against 125.

One historian says: "The demeanor of the Duchess of Cumberland in this country has been, to say the least, unobtrusive and unimpeached; but it must be confessed that a disastrous fatality—something inauspicious and indescribable—attaches to the Prince, her husband."

This year, £200,000 further was voted to the Duke of Wellington, for the purchase of an estate, although it appeared from one Member of Parliament's speech that the vote should rather have been to the Prince Regent. "Who," he asked, "had rendered the army efficient? The Prince Regent—by restoring the Duke of York to the Horse Guards. Who had gained the battle of Waterloo? The Prince Regent—by giving the command of the army to the Duke of Wellington"!! The Prince Regent himself had even stronger opinion on the matter. Thackeray says: "I believe it is certain about George IV. that he had heard so much of the war, knighted so many people, and worn such a

prodigious quantity of marshal's uniforms, cocked hats, cocks' feathers, scarlet and bullion in general, that he actually fancied he had been present at some campaigns, and under the name of General Brock led a tremendous charge of the German legion at Waterloo."

In 1816 Prince Leopold of Coburg Saalfield, a very pretty German Prince without estate or position, married the Princess Charlotte of Wales as if he were a Protestant, although he most certainly, on other occasions, acted as if he belonged to the Catholic Church. A grant of £60,000 a year was made to the Royal couple; £60,000 was given for the wedding outfit, and £50,000 secured to Prince Leopold for life, in the event of his surviving the Princess. And although this was done, it was well known to the Prince Regent and the members of the Government that, on the 2nd January of the previous year, a marriage ceremony, according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church, had been performed, by which the Prince Leopold was united to the Countess of Cohaky. Bigamy appears to be a fashionable vice, and one to which these Brunswicks never raise any objection.

In this year £185,000 was voted for the King's debts.

On the 9th December the City of London presented an address to the Prince Regent, in which they complained of "immense subsidies to foreign powers to defend their own territories, or to commit aggressions on those of their neighbors," "of an unconstitutional and unprecedented military force in time of peace, of the unexampled and increasing magnitude of the Civil List, of the enormous sums paid for unmerited pensions and sinecures, and of a long course of the most lavish and improvident expenditure of the public money throughout every branch of the Government." This address appears to have deeply wounded the Regent, and the expression of stern rebuke he used in replying was coupled with a rude sulkiness of manner. He emphasised his answer with pauses and frowns, and turned on his heel as soon as he had delivered it. And yet at this moment hundreds of thousands in England were starving. Kind monarchs, these Brunswicks!

Early in 1817 the general distress experienced in all parts of England, and which had been for some time on the increase, was of a most severe character. Meetings in London and the provinces grew frequent, and were most numerously attended; and on February 3rd, in consequence of a message from the Prince Regent, Committees of Secrecy were appointed by the Lords and Commons to inquire into the character of the various movements. The Government was weak and corrupt, but the people lacked large-minded leaders, and the wide-spread discontent of the masses of the population rendered some of their numbers easy victims to the police spies who manufactured political plots.

On the 31st March, 1817, an Act was passed by which certain societies or clubs, calling themselves Spenceans, or Spencean

Philanthropists, holding and professing for their object the confiscation and division of the land, and the extinction of the funded property of the Kingdom, were declared to be utterly suppressed and prohibited.

On the 6th of November, 1817, Princess Charlotte of Wales died. Complaints were raised that the Princess had not been fairly treated, and some excitement was created by the fact that Sir Richard Croft, the doctor who attended her, soon after committed suicide, and that the public and the reporters were not allowed to be present at the inquest. No notice whatever of the Princess's death was forwarded to her mother, the Princess of Wales. In a letter to the Duke of Buckingham, Mr. Wynn speaks of this as "the most brutal omission I ever remember, and one which would attach disgrace in private life." At this very time a large sum of money was being wasted in the employment of persons to watch the Princess of Wales on her foreign travels. In her correspondence we find the Princess complaining that her letters were opened and read, and that she was surrounded with spies, and Lord Liverpool was compelled to admit that these were paid by the English Government. From the moment that George III. was declared incurable and his death approaching, there seems little doubt that desperate means were resorted to to manufacture evidence against the Princess to warrant a divorce.

On July 13th, 1818, his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence married Adelaide, Princess of Saxe Meiningen, and his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent married her Serene Highness Victoria, Princess of Leiningen. The Duke of Clarence, of course, had voted to him an additional allowance of £6,000 a year on entering the married state, although he was already receiving from the country more than £21,000 a year in cash, and a house rent free. It is highly edifying to read the debates in Parliament, when some objection was raised to the extra sums proposed to be voted to one of the Royal Dukes; Mr. Canning pleaded as a reason for the payment, that his Royal Highness was not marrying "for his own private gratification, but because he had been advised to do so for the political purposes of providing succession to the throne." Pleasant this for the lady, and glorious for the country—Royal breeding machines! The Duke of Kent, who had the same additional vote, had about £25,000 a year, besides a grant of £20,000 towards the payment of his debts, and a loan of £6,000 advanced in 1806, of which up to the time of his marriage only £1,000 had been repaid.

Of Edward Augustus Duke of Kent, father of her present Majesty, it is only necessary to say a few words. The fourth son of George III. was somewhat better than his brothers, and perhaps for this very reason he seems always to have been disliked, and kept at a distance by his father, mother, and brothers. Nor was the Duke of Kent less disliked amongst the army, which he afterwards commanded. Very few of the officers loved him, and the bulk of the privates seem to have regarded him with the most hostile feelings. Kept very short of money

by his miserly father and mother, he had even before his majority incurred considerable debts; and coming to England in 1790, in order to try to induce the King to make him some sufficient allowance, he was ordered to quit England in ten days. While allowances were made to all the other sons of George, the Duke of Kent had no Parliamentary vote until he was thirty-three years of age. In 1802 he was appointed Governor of Gibraltar, where a mutiny took place, and the Duke had a narrow escape of his life. The Duke of Kent's friends allege that this mutiny was encouraged by officers of the highest rank, secretly sustained by the Duke of York. The Duke of York's friends, on the contrary, maintain that the overbearing conduct of the Duke of Kent, his severity in details, and general harshness in command, alone produced the result. The Duke of Kent was recalled from the government of Gibraltar, and for some months the pamphleteers were busy on behalf of the two Dukes, each seeking to prove that the Royal brother of his Royal client was a dishonorable man. Pleasant people, these Brunswicks! If either side wrote the truth, one of the Dukes was a rascal. If neither side wrote the truth, both were. The following extract from a pamphlet by Mary Ann Clarke, mistress of the Duke of York, will serve to show the nature of the publications I refer to: "I believe there is scarcely a military man in the Kingdom who was at Gibraltar during the Duke of Kent's command of that fortress but is satisfied that the Duke of York's refusal of a court-martial to his Royal brother *afforded an incontestible proof* of his *regard* for the *military* character and honor of the Duke of Kent; for if a court-martial had been granted to the Governor of Gibraltar I always understood there was but *one* opinion as to what would have been the *result;* and *then* the Duke of Kent would have lost several thousands a-year, and incurred such public reflections that would, most probably, have been painful to his *honorable* and *acute* feelings. It was, however, this *act of affection* for the Duke of Kent that laid the foundation of that *hatred* which has followed the Commander-in-Chief up to the present moment; and to this *unnatural feeling* he is solely indebted for all the misfortunes and disgrace to which he has been introduced. In one of the many conversations which I had with Majors Dodd and Glennie, upon the meditated ruin of the Duke of York, they informed me that their Royal friend had made every endeavor in his power to *poison* the *King's ear* against the Commander-in-Chief, but as Colonel Taylor was so much about the person of his Majesty, all his efforts had proved ineffectual; and to have *spoken his sentiments* before Colonel Taylor would have been very injudicious, as he would immediately have communicated them to the Commander-in-Chief, who, though he knew this time (said these *confidential* and *worthy* patriots) that the Duke of Kent was *supporting* persons to *write* against *him*, and that some Parliamentary proceedings were upon the eve of bursting upon the

public attention, yet deported himself towards his Royal brother as if they lived but for each other's honor and happiness; and the Duke of Kent, to *keep up appearances*, was more particular in his attention to the Duke of York than he had ever been before."

Despite the Duke of Kent's recall, he continued to receive salary and allowances as Governor of Gibraltar. After the celebration of the marriage, he resided abroad, and was on such unfriendly terms with his family that when he returned from Amorbach to England it was against the express orders of the Prince Regent, who, shortly after, meeting his brother at the Spanish Ambassador's, took not the slightest notice of him.

On the 17th November, 1818, the Queen died, and the custody of the body of the mad, deaf, and blind monarch of England, was nominally transferred to the Duke of York, who was voted an extra £10,000 a year for performing the duty of visiting his Royal father twice a week. Objection was ineffectually raised that his Royal Highness had also his income as Commander-in-Chief and General Officer, and it might have also been added, his pensions and his income as Prince Bishop of Osnaburg. Mr. Curwen said: "Considering how complete the revenue of his Royal Highness was from public emoluments, he could not consent to grant him one shilling upon the present occasion."

In 1819, the Duke of Kent tried to get up a lottery for the sale of his Castlebar estate, in order to pay his debts, which were then about £70,000; but the project being opposed by the Prince Regent, fell to the ground.

On the 24th of May, 1819, her present Majesty was born; and on the 23rd January, 1820, the Duke of Kent, her father, died.

It was in August of this year that the "Peterloo" outrage took place. A meeting convened by Henry Hunt, in St. Peter's Fields, Manchester, was dispersed by force, six persons being killed and many being seriously wounded. Later in the year, Lord Liverpool carried the infamous "six Acts" intended to prevent the circulation of cheap literature as well as to crush out the right of meeting.

On the 29th January, 1820, after a sixty year's reign—in which debt, dishonor, and disgrace accrued to the nation he reigned over—George III. died. The National Debt at the date of his accession to the throne was about £150,000,000, at his death it was about £900,000,000

Phillimore asks: "Had it not been for the unlimited power of borrowing, how many unjust and capricious wars would have been avoided? How different would be our condition, and the condition of our posterity? If half the sum lavished to prevent anyone bearing the name of Napoleon from residing in France, for replacing the Bourbons on the thrones of France and Naples, for giving Belgium to Holland, Norway to Sweden, Finland to Russia, Venice and Lombardy to Austria, had been employed by individual enterprise, what would now be the resources of England?"

An extract, giving Lord Brougham's summary of George III.'s life and character, may, we think, fairly serve to close this chapter:—"Of a narrow understanding, which no culture had enlarged; of an obstinate disposition, which no education perhaps could have humanised; of strong feeling in ordinary things, and a resolute attachment to all his own opinions and predilections, George III. possessed much of the firmness of purpose which, being exhibited by men of contracted mind without any discrimination, and as pertinaciously when they are in the wrong as when they are in the right, lends to their characters an appearance of inflexible consistency, which is often mistaken for greatness of mind, and not seldom received as a substitute for honesty. In all that related to his kingly office he was the slave of deep-rooted selfishness; and no feeling of a kindly nature ever was allowed access to his bosom whenever his power was concerned."

CHAPTER V.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE IV.

THE wretched reign of George IV. commenced on the 30th January, 1820. Mr. Buckle speaks of "the incredible baseness of that ignoble voluptuary who succeeded George III. on the throne." The coronation was delayed for a considerable period, partly in consequence of the hostility between the King and his unfortunate wife, and partly because of the cost. We find the Right Hon. Thomas Grenville writing of the coronation: "I think it probable that it will be put off, because the King will not like it unless it be expensive, and Vansittart knows not how to pay for it if it is." Generous monarchs, these Brunswicks! Thousands at that moment were in a state of starvation in England, Scotland, and Ireland. Lord Cassilis writes: "There seems nothing but chaos and desolation whatever way a man may turn himself the lower orders existing only from the circumstance of the produce of the land being unmarketable. The weavers are certainly employed, but they cannot earn more than from six to eight shillings a week. Such is our state." When the coronation did ultimately take place, some strange expenses crept in. Diamonds were charged for to the extent, it is said, of £80,000, which found their way to one of the King's favored mistresses. The crown itself was made up with hired jewels, which were kept for twenty-one months after the coronation, and for the hire of which alone the country had to pay £11,000. The charge for coronation robes was £24,000. It was in consequence of Sir Benjamin Bloomfield having to account for some of the diamonds purchased that he resigned

his position in the King's household. Rather than be suspected of dishonesty, he preferred revealing that they had reached the hands of Lady Conyngham. Sir George Naylor, in an infamously servile publication, for which book alone the country paid £3,000, describes "the superb habiliments which His Majesty, not less regardful of the prosperity of the people than of the splendor of his throne, was pleased to enjoin should be worn upon the occasion of His Majesty's sacred coronation."

Sir William Knighton declares that on the news of the King's death reaching the Prince Regent, "the fatal tidings were received with a burst of grief that was very affecting." The King had been mad and blind and deaf for ten years, and the Queen, years before, had complained of the Prince's conduct as unfilial if not inhuman. With the Prince Regent's known character this sudden burst of grief is really "very affecting."

On the 23rd of February London was startled with the news of what since has been described as the Cato Street Conspiracy. The trial of Arthur Thistlewood and his misguided associates is valuable for one lesson. The man who found money for the secret conspirators, and who incited them to treason and murder, was one George Edwards. This Edwards was well described by one of the journals of the period "as neither more nor less than the confidential agent of the original conspirators, to hire for them the treasons they have a purpose in detecting." By original conspirators were meant Lord Castlereagh and Lord Sidmouth. In the House of Commons, Mr. Alderman Wood moved formally, "That George Edwards be brought to the bar of the House on a breach of privilege. He pledged himself, if he had that incendiary in his hands, to convict him of the crimes imputed; he hoped he had not been suffered to escape beyond seas; otherwise there were hon. gentlemen who were in possession of him, so that he might be produced"—meaning by this that he was kept out of the way by the Government. "He regarded him as the sole author and contriver of the Cato Street plot. It was strange how such a man should be going about from public-house to public-house—nay, from one private house to another, boldly and openly instigating to such plots; and, in the midst of this, should become, from abject poverty, suddenly flush with money, providing arms, and supplying all conspirators." Mr. Hume seconded the motion. "It appeared by the depositions, not of one person only, but of a great many persons, that the individual in question had gone about from house to house with hand-grenades, and, up to twenty-four hours only preceding the 23rd of February, had been unceasingly urging persons to join with him in the atrocious plot to assassinate his Majesty's Ministers. All of a sudden he became quite rich, and was buying arms in every quarter, at every price, and of every description; still urging a variety of persons to unite with him. Now, it was very fitting for the interest of the country that the country should know who the individuals were who supplied him with the money."

As a fair specimen of the disposition of the King in dealing

with his Ministry, I give the following extract from a memorandum of Lord Chancellor Eldon, dated April 26th, 1820: "Our royal master seems to have got into a temper again, so far as I could judge from his conversation with me this morning. He has been pretty well disposed to part with us all, because we would not make additions to his revenue. This we thought conscientiously we could not do in the present state of the country, and of the distresses of the middle and lower orders of the people—to which we might add, too, that of the higher orders. My own individual opinion was such that I could not bring myself to oppress the country at present by additional taxation for that purpose."

On the 23rd of March, Henry Hunt, John Knight, Joseph Johnson, Joseph Healey, and Samuel Bamford, were, after six days' trial at York, found guilty of unlawfully assembling. Lord Grenville feared that if acquitted, Peterloo might form a terrible bill of indictment against the Ministry. His Lordship writes on March 29th to the Marquis of Buckingham "It would have been a dreadful thing if it had been established by the result of that trial that the Manchester meeting was under all its circumstances a legal assembly." His lordship knew that the magistrates and yeomanry cavalry might have been indicted for murder had the meeting been declared legal. Sir C. Wolseley and the Rev. J. Harrison were at this time being prosecuted for seditious speaking, and were ultimately found guilty on April 10th. In May the state of the country was terrible; even Baring, the Conservative banker, on May 7th, described the "state of England" to a full House of Commons "in the most lamentable terms." On the 8th we find Mr. W. H. Fremantle saying of the King: "His language is only about the Coronation and Lady Conyngham [his then favorite sultana]; very little of the state of the country." Early in June, it being known that Queen Caroline was about to return to England, and that she intended to be present at the Coronation, the King offered her £50,000 a year for life to remain on the Continent, and forbear from claiming the title of Queen of England. This Caroline indignantly refused. The Queen's name had, by an order in Council, and on the King's direction, been omitted from the Liturgy as that of a person unfit to be prayed for, and on the 6th July a Bill of pains and penalties was introduced by Lord Liverpool, alleging adultery between the Queen and one Bartolomeo Bergami. To wade through the mass of disgusting evidence offered by the advisers of the King in support of the Bill, is terrible work. It seems clear that many of the witnesses committed perjury. It is certain that the diplomatic force of England was used to prevent the Queen from obtaining witnesses on her behalf. Large sums of the taxpayers' money were shown to have been spent in surrounding the Princess of Wales with spies in Italy and Switzerland. Naturally, the people took sides with the Queen. To use the language of William Cobbett: "The joy of the people, of all ranks, except nobility, clergy, and the army and the navy, who in fact were theirs, was boundless;

and they expressed it in every possible way that people can express their joy. They had heard rumors about a lewd life, and about an adulterous intercourse. They could not but believe that there was some foundation for something of this kind; but they, in their justice, went back to the time when she was in fact turned out of her husband's house, with a child in her arms, without blame of any sort ever having been imputed to her. They compared what they had *heard* of the wife with what they had *seen* of the husband, and they came to their determination accordingly. As far as related to the question of guilt or innocence they cared not a straw; they took a large view of the matter; they went over her whole history; they determined that she had been wronged, and they resolved to uphold her."

On the 6th of August, the Duchess of York died. Dr. Doran thus writes her epitaph:—"Her married life had been unhappy, and every day of it was a disgrace to her profligate, unprincipled, and good-tempered husband."

In the month of September Lord Castlereagh was compelled to admit that the expenses incurred in obtaining evidence from abroad against the Queen, had been defrayed out of the Secret Service money. The trial of Queen Caroline lasted from the 17th of August until the 10th of November, when in a house of 207 peers, the Queen was found guilty by a majority of 9 votes. On this, Lord Liverpool said that "as the public sentiment had been expressed so decidedly against the measure," he would withdraw the Bill. Amongst those who voted against the Queen the names appear of Frederick Duke of York and William Henry Duke of Clarence. They had been most active in attacking the Queen, and now were shameless enough to vote as her judges. While the trial was proceeding, the Duke of York's private conversation "was violent against the Queen." He ought surely, for very shame's sake, this Prince Bishop, to have remembered the diamonds sent by the King, his father, to Princess Caroline Amelia Elizabeth of Brunswick. Being the bearer of the jewels, his Royal Highness the Duke of York and Prince-Bishop of Osnaburgh stole them, and presented them to Mrs. Mary Anne Clarke. Mr. Denman, the Queen's Solicitor-General, was grandly audacious in his indictment of the King's brothers for their cowardly conduct. In the presence of the assembled Lords he, without actually referring to him by name, denounced the Duke of Clarence as a calumniator. He called on the Duke to come forward openly, saying, "Come forth, thou slanderer." And this slanderer was afterwards our king! The Queen, in a protest against the Bill, declared that "those who avowed themselves her prosecutors have presumed to sit in judgment upon the question between the Queen and themselves. Peers have given their voices against her, who had heard the whole evidence for the charge, and absented themselves during her defence. Others have come to the discussion from the Secret Committee with minds biassed by a mass of slander, which her enemies

have not dared to bring forward in the light." Lord Dacre, in presenting the protest to the assembled Peers, added: "Her Majesty complained that the individuals who formed her prosecutors in this odious measure, sat in judgment against her. My Lords, I need not express an opinion upon this complaint; delicacy alone ought to have, in my opinion, prevented their becoming her accusers, and also her judges."

George IV. was guilty of the vindictive folly of stripping Brougham of his King's Counsel gown, as a punishment for his brilliant defence of the Queen.

While the trial of the Queen was going on, it might have been thought that the King would, at any rate, affect a decency of conduct. But these Brunswicks are shameless. Speaking of the cottage at Windsor, on August 11th, Mr. Fremantle says:— "The principal object is, of course, the Lady Conyngham, who is here. The King and her always together, separated from the rest, they ride every day or go on the water, and in the evening sitting alone The excess of his attentions and *enjouement* is beyond all belief." On December 17th, Mr. Fremantle finds the King ill, and says. "The impression of my mind is that the complaint is in the head." Most of the Brunswicks have been affected in the head. Either George I. was insane, or George II. was not his son. George II. himself had certainly one or two delusions, if not more. George III.'s sanity is not affirmed by anyone. It may be a question whether or not any allegation of hereditary affection is enough, however, to justify an appeal to Parliament for a re-arrangement of the succession to the throne.

On the 9th of January, 1821, King George IV. wrote a private letter to Lord Chancellor Eldon, in the "double capacity as a friend and as a minister," in order to influence the proceedings then pending in the law courts "against vendors of treason and libellers."

On the 8th of June, on the motion of Lord Londonderry, and after an ineffectual opposition by Mr. Hume, £6,000 a-year additional was voted to the Duke of Clarence. The vote was made retrospective, and thus gave the Duke £18,000 extra in cash. Besides this, we find a charge of £9,166 for fitting up the Duke's apartments.

On the 5th of July, Mr. Scarlett moved the Court on behalf of Olivia Wilmot Serres, claiming to be the legitimate daughter of the Duke of Cumberland, who was brother of George III. Mr. Scarlett submitted that he had documents proving the accuracy of the statement, but on a technical point the matter was not gone into

In August, 1821, King George IV. visited Ireland. Knowing his habits, and the customs of some other members of the family, it excites little surprise to read that, on the voyage to Dublin, "His Majesty partook most abundantly of goose pie and whisky," and landed in Ireland "in the last stage of intoxication." And this was a king! This journey to Ireland

cost the country £58,261. In a speech publicly made by the King in Ireland within a few hours after receiving the news of Queen Caroline's death, the monarch said: "This is one of the happiest days of my life."

On the 7th of August Queen Caroline died. In Thelwall's *Champion* there is a full account of the disgraceful conduct of the King's Government with reference to the funeral. On the morning of the 14th, after a disgusting contest between her executors and the King's Government for the possession of her remains, they were removed from Brandenburgh House towards Harwich, on their way to interment at Brunswick. The ministers, to gratify personal feelings of unworthy rancor beyond the grave, gave orders that the funeral should take a circuit, to avoid manifestations of sympathy from the Corporation and the people along the direct route through London. At Kensington, the procession found every road but that of London barricaded by the people, and was constrained to take the forbidden route, with the intention of passing through Hyde Park into the northern road. The Park gate was closed and barricaded, but was forced by the military. The upper gate was also barricaded. Here a conflict took place between the military and the people, and two persons were shot by the soldiers. The procession moved on, the conflict was renewed, the people triumphed, and the corpse was borne through the City. Sir Robert Wilson remonstrated with some soldiers and an officer on duty; but his humane interference caused his removal from the army. In return, a large sum was subscribed by the public to compensate Sir Robert Wilson for his loss. The directing civil magistrate present, for having consulted his humanity in preference to his orders, and, to prevent bloodshed, yielded to the wishes of the multitude, was also deprived of his commission. On the inquest on the body of one of the men shot, the coroner's jury, vindicating the rights of the people, returned a verdict of "Wilful murder" against the Life Guardsman who fired.

While the King was in Ireland he paraded his connection with the Marchioness of Conyngham in the most glaring manner. Fremantle says: "I never in my life heard of anything to equal the King's infatuation and conduct towards Lady Conyngham. She lived exclusively with him during the whole time he was in Ireland, at the Phœnix Park. When he went to Slane, she received him dressed out as for a drawing-room. He saluted her, and they then retired alone to her apartments."

If it be objected that I am making too great a feature of the Marchioness of Conyngham's connection with the King, I plead my justification in Henry W. Wynn's declaration of "her folly and rapacity," affirming that this folly and rapacity have left their clear traces on the conduct of affairs, and in the increase of the national burdens. Her husband, as a reward for her virtue, was made an English peer in 1821. Lord Mount Charles, his eldest son, was made Master of the Robes, Groom of His Majesty's Bedchamber, and ultimately became a member of the

Government. On this Bulwer said: "He may prove himself an admirable statesman, but there is no reason to suppose it."

In order that the student of history may fairly judge the account of the rapturous reception given to the King in Ireland, it is needful to add that political discontent was manifest on all sides. Poverty and misery prevailed in Limerick, Mayo, Cavan, and Tipperary, which counties were proclaimed and occupied by a large military force. Executions, imprisonments, and tumults filled the pages of the daily journals.

In the autumn of 1821, King George IV. visited Hanover, and if the Duke of Buckingham's correspondence be reliable, "Lord Liverpool put a final stop to the visit by declaring that no more drafts could be honored, except for the direct return home."

On the 12th August, 1822, Castlereagh, the most noble the Marquis of Londonderry, sent himself to heaven, from North Cray Farm, Bexley, at the age of fifty-three. He was buried in Westminster Abbey. Meaner clay would have been got rid of at some cross roads.

"The death," says Wallace, "of a public man in England—especially a death so sudden and lamentable—greatly assuages the political resentments against him in his life; and there was a reaction in aristocratic circles in favor of Lord Londonderry when he ceased to live. His servile complaisance to despots abroad, his predilection for the worst engines of government at home, were for a moment forgotten. But the honest hatred of the populace, deep-rooted, sincere, and savage, remained untouched, and spoke in a fearful yell of triumphant execration over his remains whilst his coffin was descending into the grave in Westminster Abbey."

No language could do fitting justice to Robert Stewart, Marquis of Londonderry. Words would be too weak to describe Castlereagh's cruelty and baseness towards his own countrymen, or his conduct in connection with the Government of England. All that can be fittingly said is, that he was pre-eminently suited to be Minister of State under a Brunswick.

In 1823, the thanks of Parliament was presented to George IV. for "having munificently presented to the nation a library formed by George III." Unfortunately, the thanks were undeserved. George IV. was discreditable enough to accept thanks for a donation he had never made. The truth is, says the *Daily News*, "that the King being, as was his wont, in urgent need of money, entertained a proposal to sell his father's library to the Emperor of Russia for a good round sum. The books were actually packed up, and the cases directed in due form, when representations were made to Lord Sidmouth, then Home Secretary, on the subject. The Minister resolved, if possible, to hinder the iniquity from being perpetrated. Accordingly, he represented his view of the matter to the King. George IV., graciously consented, after a good deal of solicitation, to present the library to the nation, conditionally on his receiving

in return the same sum as he would have received had the sale of it to the Emperor of Russia been completed. What the nation did was, firstly, to pay the money; secondly, to erect a room for the library at the cost of £140,000; and, thirdly, to return fulsome thanks to the sovereign for his unparalleled munificence."

On the 24th of April, 1825, the Duke of York spoke in the House of Lords against Catholic Emancipation. His speech was made, if not by the direction, most certainly with the consent of the King. George IV.'s reluctance to Catholic Emancipation was deep-rooted and violent. The bare mention of the subject exasperated him. He was known to say, and only in his milder mood, "I wish those Catholics were damned or emancipated." The angered despotism of this alternative still afforded the hope that this intolerance might be overcome by his selfish love of ease. The Duke of York's address to his brother Peers closed with the declaration that he would, to the last moment of his life, whatever his situation, resist the emancipation of the Catholics, "so help him God!" All tyrants think themselves immortal; the Catholics and their cause outlived the Duke of York, and triumphed. His speech, however, coming from the presumptive heir to the Crown, had a great share in deciding the majority of the Lords against the measure, and acted with great effect upon the congenial mass of brute ignorance and bigotry which is found ready to deny civil rights to all outside the pale of its own Church

On the 5th January, 1827, the Duke of York died. Wallace, in his "Life of George IV.," says: "Standing in the relation of heir-presumptive to the Throne; obstinately and obtusely fortified against all concession to the Catholics; serving as a ready and authoritative medium of Toryism and intolerance to reach, unobserved, the Royal ear—his death had a great influence upon the state of parties, and was especially favorable to the ascendancy of Mr. Canning. He, some weeks only before he died, and when his illness had already commenced, strenuously urged the King to render the Government uniform and anti-Catholic—in other words to dismiss Mr. Canning; and, had he recovered, Mr. Canning must have ceased to be Foreign Minister, or the Duke to be Commander-in-Chief. The Duke of York was not without personal good qualities, which scarcely deserved the name of private virtues, and were overclouded by his private vices. He was constant in his friendships—but who were his friends and associates? Were they persons distinguished in the State, in literature, in science, in arts, or even in his own profession of arms? Were they not the companions and sharers of his dissipations and prodigalities? He did not exact from his associates subserviency or form; but it was notorious that, from the meanness of his capacity, or the vulgarity of his tastes, he descended very low before he found himself at his own social level. His services to the army as Commander-in-Chief were beyond all measure over-rated. Easy access, diligence, a

mechanical regularity of system, which seldom yielded to solicitation, and never discerned merit; an unenvying, perhaps unscrupulous, willingness to act upon the advice and appropriate the measures of others more able and informed than himself; these were his chief merits at the Horse Guards. But, it will be said, he had an uncompromising, conscientious fidelity to his public principles; this amounts to no more than that his bigotry was honest and unenlightened. His death, perhaps, was opportune; his non-accession fortunate for the peace of the country and the stability of his family on the Throne. Alike incapable of fear and foresight, he would have risked the integrity of the United Kingdom rather than concede the Catholic claims; and the whole Monarchy rather than sanction Reform. It would be easy to suggest a parallel, and not always to his advantage, between the constitution of his mind and that of James, Duke of York, afterwards James II., whose obstinate bigotry forced the nation to choose between their liberties and his deposition from the Throne."

In 1827, the Duke of Clarence obtained, after much opposition, a further vote of £8,000 a year to himself, besides £6,000 a year to the Duchess. The Duke of Clarence also had £3,000 a year further, consequent on the death of the Duke of York, making his allowance £43,000 a year.

In April, 1829, the infamous Duke of Cumberland had stated, that if the King gave his assent to the Catholic Emancipation Bill he (the Duke) would quit England never to return to it. The Right Honorable Thomas Grenville says, in a letter dated April 9th: "There is some fear that a declaration to that effect may produce a very general cheer even in the dignified assembly of the House of Lords." How loved these Brunswicks have been even by their fellow peers!

On the 10th of April, the Roman Catholic Emancipation Bill passed the House of Lords, the Duke of Wellington confessing that civil war was imminent, if the relief afforded by the measure was longer delayed.

On June 26th, 1830, the Royal physicians issued a bulletin, stating that "it has pleased Almighty God to take from this world the King's most excellent majesty." Most excellent majesty! A son who threatened his mother to make public the invalidity of her marriage: a lover utterly regardless of the well-being of any one of his mistresses; a bigamous husband, who behaved most basely to his first wife, and acted the part of a dishonorable scoundrel to the second; a brother at utter enmity with the Duke of Kent; a son who sought to aggravate the madness of his Royal father; a cheat in gaming and racing. He dies because lust and luxury have, through his lazy life, done their work on his bloated carcass, and England sorrows for the King's "most excellent majesty"!

George IV. was a great King. Mrs. J. R. Greer, in her work on "Quakerism," says that he once went to a woman's meeting in Quaker dress. "His dress was all right: a grey silk gown, a

brown cloth shawl, a little white silk handkerchief with hemmed edge round his neck, and a very well poked Friend's bonnet, with the neatly-crimped border of his clear muslin cap tied under the chin, completed his disguise." Royal George was detected; but we are told that the Quakers, who recognised their visitor, were careful to treat him with courtesy and deference!

In the ten years' reign, the official expenditure for George IV. and his Royal Family was at the very least £16,000,000 sterling. Windsor Castle cost £894,500, the Pavilion at Brighton is said to have cost a million, and another half-million is alleged to have been expended on the famous "Cottage." After the King's death his old clothes realised £15,000.

Thackeray says of him that he "never resisted any temptation; never had a desire but he coddled it and pampered it; if he ever had any nerve, he frittered it away among cooks, and tailors, and barbers, and furniture-mongers, and opera dancers all fiddling, and flowers, and feasting, and flattery, and folly a monstrous image of pride, vanity, and weakness.

Wallace says: "Monarchy, doubtless, has its advantages: but it is a matter of serious reflection that under a government called free, among a people called civilised, the claims of millions, and the contingent horrors of a civil war, should be thus dependent upon the distempered humors and paramount will of a single unit of the species."

CHAPTER VI.

THE REIGN OF WILLIAM IV.

WILLIAM HENRY, Duke of Clarence, Admiral of the Fleet, and third son of George III., born August 21st, 1765, succeeded his brother George IV. as King of England, on the 26th June, 1830. The new King was then 65 years of age, and had been married, July 11th, 1818, to Adelaide Amelia Louisa Teresa Caroline, Princess of Saxe-Meiningen. Mrs. Dorothy Jordan, with whom William had lived, and who had borne him ten children, had fled to France to avoid her creditors, and had there died, neglected by the world, deserted by William, and in the greatest poverty. This Mrs. Jordan was sold to William by one Richard Ford, her former lover, who, amongst other rewards of virtue, was created a Knight, and made Police Magistrate at Bow Street. Mrs. Jordan's children bore the name of "Fitzclarence," and great dissatisfaction was expressed against the King, who, too mean to maintain them out of his large income, contrived to find them all posts at the public cost or to saddle them on the pension list. At the date of William IV.'s accession, the imperial taxation was about £47,000,000; in 1880 it has increased to £81,276,409.

The annual allowances to the Junior branches of the Royal Family in 1830, formerly included in the Civil List, and now paid separately, were as follows :—

The Duke of Cumberland, £21,000. He had no increase on his marriage; the House of Commons rejected a motion to that effect; but an allowance of £6,000 a year for his son, Prince George, had been issued to him since he became a resident in this country. This is the Duke of Cumberland, who so loved his brother, William IV., that he intrigued with the Orangemen to force William's abdication, and to get made King in his stead.

The Duke of Sussex received £21,000.

The Duke of Cambridge, father of the present Duke, had £27,000. He obtained an increase on his marriage of £6,000 a year. This Prince was charged with the government of the family territory, the kingdom of Hanover, and consequently resided but little in England.

Princess Augusta, £13,000.

The Princess Elizabeth of Hesse Homburg, £13,000.

Princess Sophia, £13,000.

The Duchess of Kent, including the allowance granted in 1831, for her daughter, the Princess Victoria, heir presumptive to the throne, £22,000.

The Duke of Gloucester, including £13,000 which he received as the husband of the Princess Mary, £27,000.

The Princess Sophia of Gloucester, his sister, £7,000.

Queen Adelaide had £100,000 a year, and the residence at Bushey granted to her for life.

Mrs. Fitzherbert, as the widow of George IV. was in receipt of £6,000 a year, and the ten Fitzclarences also enjoyed places and pensions.

The Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel were the King's Ministers, and, although there was some personal hostility between William and the Iron Duke, they were at first his willing coadjutors in opposing either reduction of expenditure, or any kind of political or social reform. The quarrel between William as Duke of Clarence and the Duke of Wellington had arisen when William was Lord High Admiral. William had given improper orders to a military officer, named Cockburn, which the latter had refused to obey. The Duke of Wellington refused to sacrifice Cockburn, and ultimately the Duke of Clarence resigned his office as Lord High Admiral, for which, says the Rev. Mr. Molesworth, "he was ill-qualified, and in which he was doing great mischief."

In November, 1830, Earl Grey, Lord Brougham, Lord Melbourne, and Lord Althorp came into office as leaders of the Whig party. With slight exception, in 1806, the Whigs had not been before in office during the present century, and very little indeed since 1762. The Whigs encouraged the Radical Reformers so far as to ensure their own accession to power; but it is evident that the Whig Cabinet only considered

how little they could grant, and yet retain office. In finance, as well as reform, they were disloyal to the mass of the people who pushed them into power.

The Duke of Wellington and his Ministry resigned office in November, 1830, because the House of Commons wished to appoint a Select Committee to examine the Civil List. King William IV., according to the words of a letter written by him to Earl Grey, on December 1st, 1830, felt considerable "alarm and uneasiness" because Joseph Hume, and other Radical members, wished to put some check on the growing and already extravagant Royal expenditure. He objects "most strenuously," and says, referring on this especially to the Duchy of Lancaster; "Earl Grey cannot be surprised that the King should view with jealousy any idea of Parliamentary interference with the only remaining pittance of an independent possession which has been enjoyed by his ancestors, during many centuries, as their *private* and *independent estate*, and has now, as such, lawfully devolved upon him in right of succession. That he should feel that any successful attempt to deprive the Sovereign of this independent possession, will be to lower and degrade him into the state and condition of absolute and entire dependence, as a pensioner of the House of Commons, to place him in the condition of an individual violating or surrendering a trust which had been held sacred by his ancestors, and which he is bound to transmit to his successors. The King cannot indeed conceive upon what plea such a national invasion of the *private* rights, and such a seizure of the private estates, of the Sovereign could be justified."

William IV. reminds Earl Grey that the Chancellor of the Duchy is sworn to do all things "for the weal and profit of the King's Highness. And his Majesty has fair reason to expect that a pledge so solemnly taken will be fulfilled, and that he will be supported in his assertion of these *private* rights, not only of himself, but of his heirs and successors, as they have devolved upon him, *separate* from all other his possessions *jure coronæ*, and consequently, as his separate personal and private estate, vested in his Majesty, by descent from Henry VII. in his body *natural*, and not in his body *politic* as King."

Earl Grey naturally promised to prevent Radical financial reformers from becoming too annoying to Royalty. The Whigs love to talk of economy out of office, and to avoid it when in place.

Daniel O'Connell appears to have much troubled the King. Directly after the Dublin meeting in December, 1830, Sir Henry Taylor says: "The King observed that he would have been better pleased if this assembly of people had not dispersed quietly *at his bidding*, as the control which he has successfully exercised upon various occasions in this way appears to his Majesty the most striking proof of the influence he has acquired over a portion of the lower classes in Ireland."

It is pretended in the *Cabinet Register* for 1831, and was stated by Lord Althorp in Parliament, that "his Majesty most

nobly and patriotically declined to add to the burdens of his people by accepting an outfit for his royal consort, though £54,000 had been granted by Parliament to the Queen of George III., as an outfit to purchase jewels, etc." This is so little true, that it appears from the correspondence between the King and Earl Grey, that a grant for the Queen's outfit had been agreed to by the outgoing Tories, and would have been proposed by the new Whig Government, had not one of the Cabinet (probably Lord Brougham) decidedly objected, on the ground that "proposing a grant for this purpose would have a bad effect on the House of Commons, and on public opinion;" and by a letter dated February 4th, 1831, from the King, it is clear that he only abandoned the claim when he found he could not get it. There is not a word about "the burdens of the people," although many at that time were in a starving condition. On the contrary, the Secretary of the King says, on February 6th, that the "disinclination shown in the House of Commons" to grant the outfit had "produced a very painful impression on his Majesty."

The King, afraid of the spread of Reform opinions, says that he "trusts that the Lord-Lieutenants and Deputy-Lieutenants of counties will be cautioned to scrutinise the ballots for the militia as far as possible, so as to endeavor to exclude from its ranks men of dangerous and designing character, whose influence might prove very pernicious upon a newly-established corps, and before they shall have acquired habits of discipline and subordination." And to show his desire for reform, he urges the Ministers to check the public gatherings, saying: "I am ignorant to what extent it may be in contemplation to increase the military means, either by calling out the militia partially, or by an addition to the regular force; but I am convinced that the latter would be not only the most efficient, but the cheapest; and it would have the advantage of being applicable to all purposes."

The Reformer King—for this pretence has been made—in another letter says: "His Majesty is satisfied that he may rely upon Earl Grey's strenuous support in his determination to resist all attempts which may be made to sap the established rights of the Crown, and to destroy those institutions under which this country has so long prospered, while others have been suffering so severely from the effects of revolutionary projects, and from the admission of what are called radical remedies He is induced thus pointedly to notice the proposal of introducing *Election by Ballot*, in order to declare that nothing should ever induce him to yield to it, or to sanction a practice which would, in his opinion, be a protection to concealment, would abolish the influence of fear and shame, and would be inconsistent with the manly spirit and the free avowal of opinion which distinguish the people of England. His Majesty need scarcely add that his opposition to the introduction of another, yet more objectionable, proposal, the adoption of *Universal Suffrage*, one of the wild projects which have sprung from revolutionary speculation, would have been still more decided."

How William IV. could ever have been suspected of being favorable to Reform is difficult to comprehend. As Duke of Clarence he had spoken in favor of the Slave Trade, and had declared that "its abolition should meet with his most serious and most unqualified opposition." When the Reform Bill actually became law, although William IV. did not dare to veto it, he refused to give the royal assent in person, John Arthur Roebuck, M.P., said that he believed William IV. "to have been very weak and very false; a finished dissembler," and always bitterly hostile to reform

The King not only hindered Reform until revolution was imminent, and the flames of burning castles and mansions were rising in different parts of England; he condescended to deceive his ministers; he allowed his children to canvass peers against the Bill, and would have resorted to force to crush the Birmingham Political Union, if he could have thrown the responsibility of this tyranny upon the Cabinet. In the King's eyes the people were "the rabble." We find him "impatient" for the return of the Tories to power, and bitterly discontented when the orderly character of popular demonstrations rendered the employment of the military impossible.

The Earl of Munster, one of the King's ten children by Mrs. Jordan, and who was Governor of Windsor Castle, Colonel in the Army, Aide-de-Camp to the King, Lieutenant of the Tower Tory and State pensioner, being charged with having "unhandsomely intrigued against Earl Grey's Government," made the curious defence "that for six months before and for twenty-four hours after the resignation" of the Grey Government, "it was from certain circumstances out of his power to act in the matter imputed to him."

It is worthy of notice, as against Mr. Frederick Harrison's opinion, that no English monarch could now really interfere with the course of government in Great Britain, that in April, 1832, William IV. gave written directions to Earl Grey, "that no instructions should be sent" to foreign ambassadors until they had "obtained his previous concurrence." And it is clear, from a letter of the King's private secretary, that William gave these orders because he was afraid there was a "disposition . . . to unite with France in support of the introduction of liberal opinions and measures agreeably to the spirit of the times." Although the newspapers praised William, he does not seem to have been very grateful in private. In 1832 he declared to his confidential Secretary that he had "long ceased to consider the press (the newspaper family) in any other light than as the vehicle of all that is false and infamous."

In May, 1832, the King and Queen were hissed and hooted, and literally pelted on their entry into London. It was in the following month that Lord Milton advised the people to refuse payment of taxes.

In January, 1833, in a speech, not written for him, but made extemporaneously after dinner, William IV. said, to compliment

the American Ambassador. "that it had always been a matter of serious regret to him that he had not been born a free, independent American." We regret that the whole family have not long since naturalised themselves as American citizens. But such a sentiment from the son of George III., from one who in his youth had used the most extravagant phraseology in denunciation of the American rebels!

The family insanity, shown in the case of George II. by his persistence in wearing his Dettingen old clothes; more notorious and less possible of concealment in that of George III.; well known to all but the people as to George IV., who actually tried to persuade the Duke of Wellington that he (George) had led a regiment at Waterloo, was also marked in William IV. In April, 1832, the King's own secretary admits "distressing symptoms" and "nervous excitement," but says that the attack "is now subsiding." Raikes, a Tory, and also a king-worshipper, in his "Diary," under date May the 27th, 1834, says, after speaking of the King's "excitement" and "rather extraordinary" conduct, that "at the levée a considerable sensation was created the other day by his insisting that an unfortunate wooden-legged lieutenant should kneel down." On June 11th, visiting the Royal Academy, the President showed the King, amongst others, the portrait of Admiral Napier, and was astonished to hear his Majesty at once cry out: "Captain Napier may be damned, sir, and you may be damned, sir; and if the Queen was not here, sir, I would kick you down stairs, sir." The King's brother, his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, died November 20th, 1834. Raikes says of him: "He was not a man of talent, as may be inferred from his nickname of Silly Billy." This is the Royal Family, the head of which, according to Mr. Disraeli, was "physically and mentally incapable of performing the regal functions," and which yet, according to that brilliant statesman, so fitly represents the intelligence and honor of Great Britain.

In 1836 Sir William Knighton died. He had been made private secretary to the late King, and had made his fortune by means of some papers which Colonel Macmahon, confidant of George IV., had when dying,, and which came into Knighton's hands as medical attendant of the dying man. Sir W. Knighton was made a "Grand Cross," not for his bravery in war, or intelligence in the State, but for his adroit manipulation of secrets relating to Lady Jersey, Mrs. Fitzherbert, and the Marchioness of Conyngham. Sir William Knighton and the latter lady were supposed to have made free with £300,000; but great larcenies win honor, and Sir W. Knighton died respected.

In August, 1836, William—hearing that the Duke of Bedford had helped O'Connell with money—ordered the Duke's bust then in the Gallery at Windsor, to be taken down, and thrown into the lime kilns.

On June 20th, 1837, William IV. died. Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, by William's death, became King of Hanover, and was on the same day publicly hissed in the Green Park.

Naturally, in this loving family there was considerable disagreement for some time previous to the King's death between his Majesty and the Duchess of Kent.

The *Edinburgh Review*, soon after the King's death, while admitting that "his understanding may not have been of as high an order as his good nature," says: "We have learned to forget the faults of the Duke of Clarence in the merits of William IV." Where were these merits shown? Was it in "brooding"—to use the expression of his own private secretary—over questions of whether he could, during the commencement of his reign, personally appropriate sums of money outside the Civil List votes? Was it in desiring that Colonel Napier might be "struck off the half-pay list," for having made a speech at Devizes in favor of Parliamentary Reform? Was it when he tried to persuade Earl Grey to make Parliament pay Rundell and Bridge's bill for plate—and this when the masses were in a starving condition? Was it when he declared that he was by "no means dissatisfied" that a proposed meeting was likely to be so "violent and in other respects so objectionable" that it would afford the excuse for suppressing by force the orderly meetings which, says his Secretary, "the King orders me to say he cannot too often describe as being, in his opinion, far more mischievous and dangerous" than those of "a more avowed and violent character!"

CHAPTER VII.

THE PRESENT REIGN.

HER present Majesty, Alexandrina Victoria, was born May 24th, 1819, and ascended the throne June 20th, 1837, as representing her father, the Duke of Kent, fourth son of George III. On February 10th, 1840, it being the general etiquette for the Brunswick family to intermarry amongst themselves, she was married to her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe Coburg, who received an allowance from the nation of £30,000, to compensate him for becoming the husband of his wife. The Queen, more sensible than others of the arduous position of a Prince Consort, wished her loyal husband to have £100,000 a year. The Government reduced this to £50,000; Joseph Hume and the Radicals reduced it still further to £30,000. For this annual payment the Prince, although expressing his dissatisfaction to Baron Stockmar, undertook to submit to naturalisation, to be the first subject in England, to reside rent free in the Royal Palaces, repaired at the

cost of the nation. He also, on his own account, and for his own profit, attended to various building speculations at the West-end of London, and died very rich. He is known as Prince Albert the Good. His goodness is marked—not by parks given to the people, as in the case of Sir Francis Crossley; not by improved dwellings for the people, as in the case of George Peabody; not by a large and costly market-place, freely given, as in the case of Miss Burdett Coutts—Peeress without her patent of Baroness; —but by statues erected in his honor in many cities and boroughs by a loyal people. As an employer of labor, the Prince's reputation for generosity is marked solely by these statues. As a Prince, he felt in his lifetime how much and how truly he was loved by his people; and at a dinner given to the Guards, Prince Albert, in a speech probably not revised beforehand, told the Household Troops how he relied on them to protect the Throne against any assaults. The memory of the Prince is dear to the people; he has left us nine children to keep out of the taxpayers' pockets, his own large private accumulations of wealth being inapplicable to their maintenance, and his will being kept secret so that the amount of his private property cannot be known.

When Her Majesty ascended the throne, poor rates averaged 5s. 4½d. per head per annum; to-day they exceed 7s. The average Imperial taxation during the first ten years of Her Majesty's reign was under £50,000,000 a year. The taxation at the present day is over £81,000,000 a year. Pauperism and local and Imperial taxation are all on the increase, and despite agricultural laborers' outcries and workmen's strikes, it is agreed that Her Majesty's reign has brought us many blessings.

At the commencement Prince Albert was not happy; he writes to Stockmar: "Peel cut down my income; Wellington refused me my rank; the Royal Family cried out against the foreign interloper."

In June, 1840, the Queen and Prince Albert, being both desperately annoyed at the opposition offered to the Prince Albert Annuity Bill, employed, or permitted, Baron Stockmar to try to gain over some of the members of the House of Commons in a most irregular fashion. The attempt failed, but Baron Stockmar's orders were obeyed by the English Ministry then in power; as also in the appointment of the Royal Household in 1841.

The confidential and continuing adviser of Her Majesty from her accession to the throne was this German Baron Stockmar, whose influence was so great that the *Westminster Review* describes him as "this German adventurer," "the secret and irresponsible Minister" of the Queen. Baron Stockmar represented at the English Court solely the interests of Germany and Belgium. He had no sympathy with England, and often entirely neutralised the policy of the English Prime Minister of the day. There was at one time an intention of bringing "the unconstitutional position of the foreign Stockmar" before Parliament. Unfortunately, no Member of Parliament was bold enough to encounter

the united Whig and Tory influences, and the matter was suppressed.

It was the German Stockmar, on instructions from his German employers, who, by his intrigues, caused Prince Albert to be named sole Regent. Prince Albert says that Stockmar gained over the opposition Members of Parliament to consent to the Regency Bill, but he does not say what means the German Baron used to effect his object.

It is now certain that, during the Crimean War, much of our policy was secretly modified by Prince Albert and Baron Stockmar. While it is pretended by Mr. Disraeli and others that to-day the Queen does not intermeddle in our politics, it is certain that from 1848 to 1854 Prince Albert and Baron Stockmar did claim and exercise for the Crown a right of secret supervision and interference. The Prince himself writes, "Victoria allows me to take an active part in foreign affairs."

On March 20th, 1842, the Earl of Munster, eldest son of William IV., and who had been made Constable of Windsor Castle by Her Majesty, committed suicide. Although the eldest son of the late King, his position as a natural child excluded him from God's people, according to the Bible, and from all right to the Throne, according to our law.

Her Majesty's eldest daughter, the Princess Royal, Victoria Adelaide Mary Louisa, is married to the Prince Imperial, Frederick William of Germany, and, as it would have been manifestly unreasonable to expect either the Queen or the Prince Consort, out of their large private fortunes, to provide a dowry for their daughter, the English nation pays £8,000 a-year to the Princess.

Her Majesty's eldest son, Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, Duke of Saxony, Cornwall, and Rothesay, and Earl of Dublin, has earned already so wide a fame that notice here is almost needless. As a military chieftain, the Autumn Manœuvres of 1871 demonstrated his strategic ability. As an investigator of social problems, he has surpassed the Lords Townshend and Shaftesbury, and at Mabille and in London has, by experience, entitled himself to speak with authority. As a pigeon shooter and battueist he has few equals.

Her Majesty's second son is Alfred Ernest, Duke of Edinburgh. His Royal Highness, when serving on board the *Galatea*, had leave to go on shore at Marseilles. Journeying to Paris, he overstayed his leave, refused to return when summoned, and stayed there, so Paris journals said, till his debts were thousands. Any other officer in the Navy would have been cashiered; his Royal Higness was promoted. The Duke of Edinburgh visited our Colonies, and the nation voted about £3,500 for presents made by the Prince. The presents the Prince received were, of course, his own, and the vote enabled the Duke to do justice to the generous sentiments of his family. The Colonists pretended at the time that some of the presents were not paid for by the Duke of Edinburgh; nay, they went so far as to allege that

some of the Duke's debts had to be discharged by the Colonist Reception Committee. Representing the honor of England, his Royal Highness earned himself a fame and a name by the associates he chose. In visiting India, a special sum of, we believe, £10,000 was taken from the Indian revenues and handed to the Duke, so that an English Prince might be liberal in his gifts to Indians at their own cost. The Duke of Edinburgh has now £25,000 a-year, and is entitled to the Saxe-Coburg succession. A few years ago he borrowed £450 from the pay-chest of the *Galatea*. The country made up the deficient sum in the pay-chest without a word of protest from any M.P.

Her Majesty's cousin, George William Frederick, Duke of Cambridge, is Commander-in-Chief of the Army. His Royal Highness is also Field-Marshal and Colonel. Naturally, in the Duke is found embodied the whole military talent of the Royal Family. His great-uncle, the Duke of Cumberland, carved "Klosterseven" on the Brunswick monuments. Frederick Duke of York, the uncle of the Duke of Cambridge, recalled from the field of battle, that he might wear in peace at home the laurels he had won abroad, added "Clarke" and "Tonyn" as names to vie with Cressy or Waterloo. The present Duke of Cambridge was, when Prince George, stationed in Yorkshire, in the famous "plug-plot" times, and his valiancy then threatened most lustily what he would do against the factory "turn-outs," poor starved wretches clamoring for bread. In the army, the normal schoolmasters can tell how this brave Brunswicker rendered education difficult, and drove out, one by one, many of the best teachers. Soldiers who think too much make bad machines. It was the father of the present Duke of Cambridge who publicly expressed his disbelief, in 1841-45, of the failure of the potato crop in Ireland, "because he had always found the potatoes at his own table very good!"

For many years Her Majesty has taken but little part in the show ceremonials of State. Parliament is usually opened and closed by commission—a robe on an empty throne, and a speech read by deputy, satisfying the Sovereign's loyal subjects. It is, however, the fact that in real State policy her interference has been most mischievous, and this especially where it affected her Prusso-German relatives. In the case of Denmark attacked by Prussia and Austria, and in the case of the Franco-Prussian War, English Court influences have most indecently affected our foreign relations.

When Her Majesty travels in England great precautions are taken to prevent her from coming into contact with the common people who are her loyal and devoted subjects. When Her Majesty is abroad, the natives of foreign parts being much superior to the ordinary type of Briton, are allowed greater indulgence. In England railway stations are cleared, piers and docks are carefully purged of the presence of the vulgar British subject. In Germany her Majesty is amongst those she loves, and there the same rigid exclusiveness is not maintained.

Her Majesty is now enormously rich, and—as she is like her Royal Grandmother—grows richer daily. She is also generous, and a year or two since gave not quite half a day's income to the starving poor of India. A few months prior to this many thousands of pounds were wasted in formally proclaiming her imperial title.

It is charged against me that I have unfairly touched private character. In no instance have I done so, except as I have found the conduct of the individuals attacked affecting the honor and welfare of the nation. My sayings and writings are denounced in many of the journals, and in the House of Lords as seditious, and even treasonable. My answer is, that fortunately, Hardy, Tooke, and Thelwall heard "Not Guilty" given as the shield against a criticism which dared to experiment on prosecution. In case of need, I rely on a like deliverance. I do not pretend here to have pleaded for Republicanism: I have only pleaded against the White Horse of Hanover I loathe these small German breast-bestarred wanderers, whose only merit is their loving hatred of one another. In their own land they vegetate and wither unnoticed; here we pay them highly to marry and perpetuate a pauper prince-race. If they do nothing they are "good." If they do ill, loyalty gilds the vice till it looks like virtue.

APPENDIX.

To-day the Civil List means only a portion of the sum appropriated for the maintenance and support of the Sovereign and Royal Household. Formerly the whole expenditure of the nation other than for naval and military purposes was included in the Civil List. Prior to Cromwell, the Civil List did not exist at all. The King was supposed to provide for all national expenditure out of his land and hereditary revenues, and any extra war expenditure was contributed by the various feudal lords, under the conditions of their several tenures. Deficiencies were made up, sometimes by forced loans, sometimes by Parliamentary grants, which, however, were by no means voted as a matter of course. Parliaments, less obsequious than at present, often refused to vote moneys which then came in great part from the pockets of their own class. The first recorded vote of a specific annual sum was in 1660 to King Charles II. of £1,200,000, which continued through his reign; a like sum was voted to James II., and on the 2nd March, 1689, the Commons voted the same amount to William and Mary. To use the words of the Parliamentary Blue Book, "this amount was intended to meet the whole public expenditure"—that is, it was to cover the national outlay of every kind, whether civil or military. The first vote especially distinguishing its applicability to the purposes of Civil Government was a little later, in 1689, and probably arose through the war in Ireland and that with France. On the

25th of April, 1689, £600,000 was specifically voted for the Civil Government; but this included not only the cost of the Royal Family, but also every other disbursement for the purposes of Civil Government. On the 20th December, 1697, this vote was increased to £700,000, and the first Civil List Act which was ever passed is the 9 and 10 William III., c. 23. This Act is not in the collected statutes, being treated as a spent Act. The printed estimates show that this Civil List included the whole Foreign Office expenditure, the Treasury and other offices of State, commissioners of trade, the whole of the judges, all the pensions, secret service money, rewards for apprehending ordinary criminals, extraordinary commissions, State printers' bill, &c. To-day the cost of the Royal Family alone is much more than the whole amount of the Civil List of 1699. The second Civil List Act, giving an equal grant during the reign of Anne, is the first which is in part preserved in the printed volumes of statutes, and is dated the 21st May, 1702. The sections remaining, however, only restrain grants and alienations of Crown lands or hereditary revenues. Queen Anne set an example which Queen Victoria has not imitated. Queen Anne returned to the nation by way of donation towards public expenditure a very large proportion of her private savings. George I. had a Civil List, of £700,000 a-year; but during his reign of twelve and a-half years Civil List debts were paid, amounting in all to, at least, £1,300,000. The imperfectly edited remains of the Acts of Parliament, contained in the Statute Book, 7 George I., cap. 27, and 12 George I., cap. 2, and the reference to 11 George I., cap. 17, would make the Civil List debts defrayed by Parliament amount to £1,500,000. On the accession of George II., the Civil List was increased to £800,000. In 1720, Civil List debts were paid to the amount of £115,000, and in 1747 a further sum of £456,734. It was during the reign of George III. that the robbery of the people, under the name of the Civil List grew into a science. On the 24th October, 1760, the Civil List was fixed at £800,000, which was increased to £900,000, from the 5th January, 1777; a further increase of £60,000 a-year was made in 1803 (this, we are inclined to think, being for the Prince of Wales), and £70,000 more was added on the Regency. If we understand the statutes rightly, £13,600 a-year was also added from 1783 to 1815, when this sum grew into £48,000 per annum.

In addition to these increased allowances, the following sums were voted by Parliament for payment of the Civil List debts, a great deal of the early money being spent in bribing Peers, and Commons:—1769, £513,511; 1777, £618,340; 1784, £60,000; 1786, £200,000; 1802, £990,053; 1804, £591,842; 1805, £10,458; 1814, £218,857; 1816, £185,000; making a total of £3,398,061 of debts, in addition to the annual allowance, and this not including the enormous payments for the debts of George Prince of Wales. But even these were trifles compared with the present rate of expenditure. In 1816, the Civil List underwent modification, items being now taken out of it, and transferred to the

Consolidated Fund. On the accession of George IV., the Civil List, now including Ireland, was fixed at £1,166,000, of which £207,000 was for Ireland. This £207,000 was, with the exception of the pension list, wholly appropriated to Civil Government in Ireland. The sum of £109,000 was for Scotland, leaving for England £850,000; but this item still included the Foreign Office disbursements, now amounting to about £277,000, the salaries of all the judges, nearly £33,000, the pension list, the salaries of the Ministers of State, and other items. Between 1820 and 1830 the Casual Revenues produced £326,055 6s. 9d., of which the sum of £17,648 11s. 9d. figured under the head of charities; the executors of the Duke of York took £6,440 12s., and his Majesty, the First Gentleman in Europe, absorbed the remainder. On the accession of William IV., a pretended reduction, but real increase, of the Civil List took place.

A Parliamentary return, ordered to be printed by the House of Commons on the 26th July, 1869, contains the only accessible official information as to the origin of the Civil List. On the 19th of March, 1872, Sir Charles Dilke in the House of Commons treated the subject at great length in a vain endeavor to obtain Parliamentary investigation or more complete official returns.

The Civil List, which is now understood to mean the annual sum granted by Parliament for the support of the royal household, formerly meant much more. The first Civil List Act passed by Parliament was the 9 and 10 William III., cap. 23, by which £700,000 per annum was voted. This included—as the accounts for the year 1700 show—all the expenses of the nation except interest, management, and repayment of National Debt, army, navy, and ordnance. The following are the approximate items of the cost of the Royal Family per annum:—

Her Majesty the Queen, £385,000. Income of the Duchy of Lancaster, £42,000; including a compensation annuity from the Consolidated Fund, the total income of the Duchy is about £69,000. As Duchess of Lancaster, Her Majesty receives £101 every year from the nation as an ancient fee. Cost of royal palaces inhabited, or partly inhabited, by Her Majesty, or inhabited without Parliamentary authority by pensioned members of the royal family, £35,680. Cost of royal yachts paid by the country, amount not at present ascertainable. The *aides de camp* to the Queen are charged separately in the army estimates.

Her Majesty's enormous private property in foreign funds and landed estate is not included here, although the whole of this property must have been obtained by her from moneys economised out of the national allowance to herself and to Prince Albert, as the Duke of Kent, her father, died hopelessly insolvent, and the Prince Albert had practically no estate when he married.

There is a further sum of £1,500 voted annually to Her Majesty to enable her to be charitable in Scotland, and a smaller sum of £300 to enable her to be charitable in Ireland, and there have also been yearly votes of about £1,500 for racing plates to be

given in Her Majesty's name. In Scotland the vote for Queen's plates comes to £218.

There is no real foundation for the allegation that the Duchy of Lancaster is the private property of the Queen. In the reign of Anne, the revenues of the Duchy of Lancaster were not only part of the Civil List, but the Crown was restrained from making grants except under the provisions of 1 Anne, c. 7. So far as I am aware, although a recital was introduced into an Act of George III. that the King is possessed of himself, his heirs, and successors, of the possessions of the Duchy, it was not until 1830 that any claim of purely private property was set up. On December 1, 1830, William IV., in a letter written to Earl Grey, claimed the Duchy "as his separate, personal and private estate, vested in his Majesty by descent from Henry VII. in his body natural, and *not in his body politic as king*." This claim is monstrously absurd, as William IV. in his body natural was most certainly not the heir male of Henry VII., even if the Duchy had passed by natural succession.

The Princess Royal has an annuity of £8,000. Her Royal Highness is Crown Princess of Prussia and received a grant of £10,000 on her marriage.

Prince of Wales and Princess of Wales, £50,000. The Prince of Wales owns 86,680 acres of land in eight counties.

Net income of Duchy of Cornwall about £70,000. The total income of the Duchy in 1875 was £101,828.

The Duchy of Cornwall is the result of a charter of Edward III., stated to be confirmed by a statute of 11 Edward III., which statute is not in the revised statutes. The Duchy of Cornwall is not and cannot be the private property of the present Prince of Wales, who can only have a life estate in it, yet parts of the Duchy have been sold, but no return has, so far as I am aware, been made of the capital moneys received, or of their disposition, though in some years the receipts from such sales have been many thousands of pounds. There were formerly three pensions—one of £3,000 a year to the Earl of Bath, another of £2,000 a year to Lord D'Auverquerque, and a third of £300 to Sir Peter Killigrew, all payable out of the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall. These pensions have all been transferred to the cost of the nation, thus increasing the net income of the Duchy of Cornwall. Interest on £602,720 Duchy of Cornwall accumulations in 1861, say £18,000 per annum. Sir Charles Dilke, in Parliament, stated these accumulations without contradiction at £743,000. Landed property rents, say, yearly, £8,000. Military income not included. There is no record of the property inherited by the Prince of Wales from his father, nor can any information be given, as the will is illegally kept secret. Occasional sums are voted for the repairs of his Royal Highness's residence. In one year £8,000 was paid for this. In 1876, £550 was charged. In 1878, £6,450 is the figure of expenditure. In 1877 it was £4,100. In 1879 it was £2,975. In 1880 it was £2,420.

There is an item each year in the national accounts of £16,216 paid to the Receiver-General of the Duchy of Cornwall for loss of duties on the coinage of tin. This item is, in fact, an annuity paid by the nation to the Prince of Wales. Although then enormously rich, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, was content to receive from the people on the occasion of his coming of age, a parliamentary grant of £23,455.

£142,000 was voted for the Prince's Indian journey. There was some talk that this £142,000 would not be sufficient, and in 1875 a huge petition was presented to the House of Commons against any further grant. Mr. Disraeli said that no further grant would be required, as the whole amount had not been expended, but a balance had been left in hand. Despite this statement on the part of Mr. Disraeli, additional sums have for two years past been smuggled into the Navy Estimates on account of this journey of the Prince of Wales to India.

The Duke of Edinburgh, £25,000. The naval income is not included in this annuity, nor is any account taken of the value of the hereditary rights to the Dukedom of Saxe-Coburg, and which are variously estimated. The Duke of Edinburgh has now a large additional income from his wife.

Prince Arthur, £25,000. No estimate is here made of the yearly value of the premises belonging to the nation occupied without any Parliamentary authority, by the Prince, and for which he pays no rent.

Prince Leopold, £15,000.

Princess Helena, £6,000, and a grant of £30,000 on her marriage to Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg.

Princess Louise, £6,000, and a grant on her marriage to the Marquis of Lorne.

Princess Augusta, Duchess of Cambridge, £6,000 (the Financial Reform Almanack for 1878 gives this at £3,000 only). In addition we spend a large sum of money to repair Her Royal Highness's apartments in St. James's Palace, and we pay the rent of her stables in Brick Street, Piccadilly.

Princess Mary of Cambridge, £5,000 (married to the Duke of Teck). The White Lodge, Richmond Park, is occupied by the Duke and Duchess of Teck, and no sort of rent or compensation is paid by them to the nation, nor is there any parliamentary authority for the occupation.

Princess Augusta of Mecklenburgh-Strelitz, £3,000.

Prince George, Duke of Cambridge, £12,000.

This does not include His Royal Highness's salary as Field Marshal Commanding-in-Chief, and Colonel, nor does it include any benefits derived by the Duke of Cambridge from any rangerships or other posts held by him. A large proportion of Richmond Park is enclosed as game preserve for His Royal Highness. As far as can be ascertained, the military salaries of the Duke of Cambridge are, as Field Marshal Commanding-in-Chief, £4,432; as Colonel of the Grenadier Guards, £2,200. It

is extremely difficult from the military estimates to say if these are given accurately.

Some persons pretend that the amounts paid to the Royal Family are justly due to them as part compensation for valuable properties surrendered by them to the nation. The only property belonging to the Brunswicks when they came to England was their Hanoverian property; this they not only kept, but actually added to out of English taxpayers' pockets. They surrendered nothing. When James II. was declared to have forfeited the Crown, and his heir male was disinherited, it is clear that the nation, or Parliament on its behalf, gave a distinct schedule of revenues for the royal maintenance, first to William of Orange, and then to Queen Anne and the children of the Electress Sophia, but there was no sort of private inheritance for the newcomers to surrender in return. They, at that time, were not even the heirs to the private estate of James II., if he had left any private estate in this country.

In the early stages of the Civil List the grants to members of the royal family were made by the Monarch for the life of the Monarch. In 1737 Frederick, Prince of Wales, applied to Parliament for a larger allowance than had been made to him by George II., and the King then objected that Parliament had nothing whatever to do with the maintenance of the Royal Family.

In order to find out the real cost of the Royal Family it is needful to examine the whole of the financial accounts with the most careful scrutiny. In the Naval expenditure for 1877, £1,262 4s. was charged for conveyance of Her Majesty and the Royal Household. It was stated in the House of Commons that the amount voted for the journey of the Prince of Wales to India was more than sufficient, and that a small surplus had been left undisbursed. Despite this there is, on page 210 of the "Naval Estimates," the following item:—"Expenses incurred in connection with the visit of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales to India, £4,360 14s. 8d." Lumped in an item of £3,386 8s. 7d., so that it is impossible to fix the exact amount, I find: "Pay of equerry to the Duke of Edinburgh" and "allowance to messes of Her Majesty's ship *Sultan*, while H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh was in command;" and in 1880, £11,000 was devoted for "Conveyance by sea of the Royal Household, entertainment of royal personages, and other small or unforseen expenses."

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THE

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La multitude qui ne se reduit pas à l'unité est confusion L'unité qui n'est pas multitude est tyrannie.—PASCAL.

La multitude, c'est la société: l'unité, c'est la verité—c'est l'ensemble des lois de justice et de raison qui doivent gouverner la société.—GUIZOT.

Government is a contrivance of human wisdom to provide for human wants. Men have a right that these wants should be provided for by this wisdom.—BUCKLE.

ANY one reading the parliamentary debates of 1793 to 1798, and again those immediately preceding the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832, will at once perceive how much of political power has been conceded by the governing classes to the governed on a pressure from without, and how little concession has been obtained by the people from their rulers from a sense of justice, when the demand has been unaccompanied by a powerful popular agitation. Enlargements of political privileges have been granted not cheerfully, but with fear and murmuring, and after a long and angry resistance. In the late debates on the reform question in the House of Commons, the working classes were, with some justice, upbraided for their apathy, yet when formerly active in their own interest they were not unfrequently the victims of state prosecutions for treasons and misdemeanours. I desire to see renewed political activity, believing that the present enormous and wasteful expenditure of the English Government calls for interference on the part of the people, who are the contributors of the great bulk of the revenue. Such an interference is only usefully practicable when a wide extension of political power has been obtained by the masses, and an alteration of the suffrage has rendered the House of Commons something nearer an assembly of the people's representatives. The unenfranchised are at the present time politically at the mercy of their more favoured brethren, and this subjection of one class to another is most disastrous in its effects on

both. That men educated as are the English people should be controlled without the right to express an effective opinion as to the direction of such control, is a wrong demanding speedy remedy.

Believing it to be impossible that the masses can in the future rest satisfied for a period of any considerable duration without the enactment of some measure of parliamentary reform, and knowing that the attainment of a successful issue on the part of the people to any reform agitation must depend on the justice of the measure agitated for, and on the ability of the agitators to enforce their demands by sound argument, I deem it my duty to bring specially before the working classes, who are most interested in the renewal of a movement for reform, certain views which appear to me of vital importance to them, and which are promulgated by a writer who declares that "the problem of constitutional organism is, in what manner the individuals composing the entire community are to be classed, so that no opinions or interests shall be unheard, or extinguished in representation;" and who quotes with approval the statement of Guizot, that "the object of representative government is to examine publicly the great interests and diverse opinions which, while dividing society, seek to overcome each other, in the just confidence that out of their debates will grow the knowledge and adoption of those laws and measures which best conduce to the interests of the country. This object is only attained by the triumph of a true majority, the minority constantly being present and heard. If the majority is displaced by artifice, the result is falsehood. If the minority is excluded from the discussion, it is an oppression. In either case the principle of representative government is corrupted." The writer to whom I refer is Mr. Thomas Hare, of whom John Stuart Mill, in the supplement to his treatise on Parliamentary Reform, says that "he has raised the principle of the Representation of Minorities to an importance and dignity which no previous thinker had ascribed to it."

Holding, as I do, the opinion that every sane human being unconvicted of crime should have the means of

exercising, through the electoral suffrage, an influence on the management of the public affairs of the state in which he or she is resident, I have been rejoiced to find in Mr. Hare's book an unfailing reply to one of the most vital objections made by those who contend against any considerable extension of the franchise to the masses. This objection was embodied by Mr. Burke in his expression of fear of a democratic majority, and is thus stated by Mr. Mill, who asks, "Why is nearly the whole educated class united in uncompromising hostility to a purely democratic suffrage? Not so much because it would make the most numerous class, that of manual labourers, the *strongest* power; *that* many of the educated classes would think only just. It is because it would make them the *sole* power, because in every constituency the votes of that class would swamp and politically annihilate all other members of the community taken together." That is, the minority who at present govern by the unjust exclusion of the masses from the exercise of the suffrage, claim to perpetuate this injustice, and to retain to themselves the usurped dominance, because they anticipate, at the hands of the people, the same kind of wrong which the masses suffer from them—namely, political annihilation. This political death (which occurring to any body of citizens is a most grievous injury to the state) has terror for the upper 10,000, notwithstanding which, they appear to deem it the rightful fate of the lower 10,000,000. John Stuart Mill says, "A person who is excluded from all participation in political business is not a citizen He has not the feelings of a citizen. To take an active interest in politics is, in modern times, the first thing which elevates the mind to large interests and contemplations; the first step out of the narrow bounds of individual and family selfishness, the first opening in the contracted round of daily occupations. The person who in a free country takes no interest in politics unless from having been taught that he ought not to do so, must be too ill informed, too stupid, or too selfish, to be interested in them; and we may rely on it that he cares as little for anything else which does not

directly concern himself or his personal connections. Whoever is capable of feeling any common interest in his kind, or with his country, is interested in politics; and to be interested in them and not wish for a voice in them is an impossibility. The possession and the exercise of political, and among others of electoral rights, is one of the chief instruments both of moral and intellectual training for the popular mind; and all governments must be regarded as extremely imperfect until every one who is required to obey the laws, has a voice, or the prospect of a voice, in their enactment and administration" At present a fraction only of the community have a right to vote, the user of this right is far from complete, and a majority of the so-called representatives of the people are returned to the House of Commons by a minority of that fraction; so that, in fact, the minority of a minority rule the nation. This is clearly wrong, and the apology by the governing classes that theirs is the educated minority is deprived of much of its force on examination. Educated are the governors? Not so much in the wants of the poor as in the pauper toiler, not so fully in the needs of labour, as is the factory *employé;* in each phase of the labourer's existence various wrongs need remedy, and it is only in the living through these poor men's miseries that men can be educated to their full comprehension. There are many questions in the discussion of which the working classes are most fittingly educated to entitle them to a voice, and on which they have need as well as right to be heard by representatives from their own ranks. The pretence of education on the part of the politician is sometimes a tinsel, covering the most complete ignorance of the political requirements of the nation. An educated minority so misgoverned the uneducated majority of France that at last more than half a century of bitter wretchedness and starvation culminated in the decapitation of a king and a bloody convulsion of the nation. An educated minority in Austria at the present day rule by force against the will of the Hungarian, Venetian, and Gallician peasantry. and revolts and repressions result.

In our own country it has been the educated classes who

have impeded the education of their poorer brethren by the imposition of taxes on knowledge, and a variety of restrictions on the liberty of the press. To use the language of Mr. Buckle, "they could hardly have done worse if they had been the sworn advocates of popular ignorance." Especially have they hindered the diffusion of political information, and the pillory, prison, and transportation were the arguments used against the early instructors of the masses in their duties as citizens. The right to diffuse political knowledge amongst the crowd has been won by slow and painful processes, and in defiance of state trials, government-favouring judges, and county jails. No wonder that the masses have rested ignorant so long.

In England, even now, an educated minority waste in extravagant state expenditure million after million, coined by the hand labour of the political nonentities, who pay the taxes, and are deemed sufficiently educated to obey laws they have no share in making. Amongst the governing classes are some who from mean and selfish motives sustain a state of things which finds sinecures for younger sons; but there are many even in pure Belgravia who would willingly accord to the working man some share in the government, but who fear that if the right of suffrage be attained by the people, it will be used to destroy politically the whole of those in whom political power is at present vested. These urge that in every country, city, and borough the artizans and labourers outnumber the men of property and birth, and they declare their conviction that in a House of Commons returned by universal suffrage, there would be no justice done to the rights of property. If this argument were true to its fullest extent, it would only serve to show that those who have possessed the fullest opportunities for developing the national will, have not used their opportunities for the good of the nation. It can hardly be denied that the governing classes of the country have had to a great extent the power of controlling the education of the people, nor can it be contended that this power has been so advantageously used as it might have been if the real elevation of the masses had been sought.

So that in effect I reply, that even if the result of conceding to the working classes their political rights were as disastrous to the aristocracy as the most timid contemplate, yet even then there is no valid excuse for the withholding such political power from the people. Mr. Hare's proposal, which I desire to have discussed by my readers, meets this objection; and while he does not contend for such an extension of the suffrage as I should consider just, he proposes a scheme under which I conceive it possible to obtain the real representation of the people in the English House of Commons. Mr. Hare looks upon the Parliament House as a place where minorities, heresies, and protests of all sorts should be represented and entitled to a hearing; and in order to attain this he has in a most masterly manner framed a measure which should be fully examined by the people; for so long as the working classes are denied justice, and are not admitted to the suffrage in so ample a manner as to outnumber the upper class electors, it is to the working men that Mr. Hare's bill is peculiarly beneficial; and I trust that even if universal suffrage were obtained to-morrow the people would know that a permanent and progressive democracy can only subsist usefully by permitting its opponents to be heard in the national deliberative assembly. Guizot says that "an electoral system which in the formation of the deliberative assembly annuls in advance the influence and participation of the minorities, destroys the representative government, and would be as fatal to the majority as a law which in a deliberative assembly compelled the minority to remain silent."

At present elections are purely local, and the minority of electors in a particular borough are not only unrepresented, but are misrepresented. Of late several modes have been suggested for giving an effective voice to a minority; by limiting each elector to fewer votes than the number of members to be elected, or allowing him to concentrate all his votes on the same candidate. These various schemes are praiseworthy so far as they go, but they attain the object very imperfectly.

"All plans for dividing a merely local representation in

unequal ratios, are limited by the small number of members which can be, and the still smaller which ought to be, assigned to any one constituency. There are considerable objections to the election even of so many as three by every constituent body. This, however, under present arrangements, is the smallest number which would admit of any representation of a minority, and in this case the minority must amount to at least a third of the whole. All smaller minorities would continue, as at present, to be disfranchised; and in a minority of a third, the whole number must unite in voting for the same candidate. There may, therefore, be a minority within the minority who have sacrificed their individual preference, and from whose vote nothing can with certainty be concluded but that they dislike less the candidate they voted for, than they do the rival candidate."* Mr. Hare would have principles represented rather than places, and he would not confine the voters to a local candidate, but would widen their sphere of choice, and permit the vote to be given to any one who was a candidate for election anywhere in the kingdom. That is, supposing there to be in all 658 members of parliament, and a total of 1,316,000 electors throughout the kingdom voting at a particular election, he would divide the latter by the former, thus leaving a quotient of 2000, and he would allow any candidate who obtained 2000 votes throughout the whole kingdom to be returned to parliament. This would much modify the constitution of the House, even without any extension of the suffrage. For example, there are the various Trades' Unions unrepresented in parliament, and although numerically strong, they are spread over a wide surface, and are so weak in suffrage power in any given town or borough, that there is probably no locality where the Trades' Unions would have the ghost of a chance to carry a candidate; but given all Great

* These semi-dissentients might even amount to a majority of the minority; for (as Mr. Hare remarks) if fifty persons agree to combine their strength, who, left to themselves, would have divided their votes among ten candidates, six of the fifty may impose their candidate on all the rest, though perhaps only relatively preferred by them.

Britain, and a hundred votes in one city, and twenty in that borough, and ten in this town, and five in that village, and so on, and the quotient may be attained, and the Trades' Union may pick their best man, and compel parliament to receive him. So with the Co-operative societies, the Odd-Fellows, and other large friendly societies. All these with their wide influences, might gather the necessary number of votes from different corners of the realm. This portion of Mr. Hare's scheme provides for the representation of every minority of not less than 2000 electors and the representation is more nearly equalised than is otherwise possible. Every candidate who is elected can boast that he is the representative of a constituency unanimous in their desire for his return, and no voter can complain that he is misrepresented by a man he has voted against. Some candidates of great popularity will probably get more than the quota of votes required, and if all these were counted for him, the House would be deficient of members, as none are to be returned who do not obtain the quota. To obviate this, Mr. Hare proposes that no more than the necessary quota of votes shall be counted to any candidate, and that whoever obtains that number shall be declared duly elected; all surplus votes being transferred to some one else. For this purpose the elector is to put on his voting paper more than one name, so that if the first named have elsewhere the necessary suffrages, then the vote passes to the second, or in case he shall already have sufficient, then to the third, or fourth, or fifth, or sixth, or seventh, and so on. Thus while the vote would in any case only be counted for one candidate, it would be sure to be counted for some candidate, and would not be thrown away as many votes are at present. John Stuart Mill regards it as certain that this scheme would, if carried out, prodigiously improve the *personnel* of the national representation. "At present, were they ever so desirous, a great majority of the most distinguished men in the country have little or no chance of being elected anywhere as members of the House of Commons. The admirers, and those who would be the supporters, of a person whose claims rest on acknowledged

personal merit, are generally dispersed throughout the country, while there is no place in which his influence would not be far outweighed by that of some local grandee, or *notabilité de clocher*, who neither has, nor deserves to have, the smallest influence anywhere else. If a man of talents and virtue could count as votes for his return all electors in any part of the kingdom, who would like to be represented by him, every such person who is well known to the public would have a probable chance; and under this encouragement nearly all of them, whose position and circumstances were compatible with parliamentary duties, might be willing to offer themselves to the electors. Those voters who did not like either of the local candidates, or who believed that one whom they did not like was sure to prevail against them, would have all the available intellectual strength of the country from whom to select the recipient of their otherwise wasted vote. An assembly thus chosen would contain the élite of the nation."

The improvement anticipated would not be confined to representatives of minorities, better men would be chosen on either side. "A member who had already served in parliament with any distinction, would under this system be almost sure of his re-election. At present the first man in the House may be thrown out of parliament precisely when most wanted, and may be kept out for several years, from no fault of his own, but because a change has taken place in the local balance of parties, or because he has voted against the prejudices or local interests of some influential portion of his constituents." Instances of this have occurred, and will be familiar to the reader. "Under Mr. Hare's system, if he has not deserved to be thrown out, he will be nearly certain to obtain votes from other places, sufficient, with his local strength, to make up the quota of 2000 (or whatever the number may be) necessary for his return to Parliament. Consider next the check which would be given to bribery and intimidation in the return of members to Parliament. Who by bribery and intimidation, could get together 2000 electors from a hundred different parts of the country? Intimidation would have no means

of acting over so large a surface; and bribery requires secresy, and an organised machinery, which can only be brought into play within narrow local limits. Where would then be the advantage of bribing or coercing the 200 or 300 electors of a small borough? They could not of themselves make up the quota, and nobody could know what part of the country the remaining 1700 or 1800 suffrages might come from. In places so large as to afford the number of 2000 electors, bribery or intimidation would have the same chances as at present. But it is not in such places that, even now, these malpractices are successful. As regards bribery (Mr. Hare truly remarks), the chief cause of it is, that in a closely contested election where certain votes are indispensable, the side which cannot secure those particular votes is sure to be defeated. But under Mr. Hare's plan no vote would be indispensable. A vote from any other part of the country would serve the purpose as well: and a candidate might be in a minority at the particular place and yet be returned."

In each election the votes are necessarily given by voting papers, bearing the name and address of the speaker, which are preserved, each quota being kept distinct, and in case of a vacancy occurring by death, or otherwise, the returning officer in direction from the voter is to send a circular letter to each of the electors forming the constituency of the member who had filled the vacant seat with a list of the new candidates, and the candidate obtaining the largest number of suffrages out of such constituency will be returned as duly elected to the vacant seat.

In the event of a member accepting office under government, a circular letter is to be sent to the constituency represented by that member, informing them thereof, and unless in reply at least one fourth express their dissent, the representative who has so accepted office under government will not vacate his seat.

While Mr. Hare's plan does not propose to equalise the electoral districts in any of the modes heretofore suggested, it of course fulfils the whole object of those who desire this equalisation; and, unlike all other schemes, is self-adjusting, the quota being declared at each election as before stated.

There are other points as to the ballot, the suffrage, disqualification of members, &c., upon which some differences of opinion may be expected. Mr. Hare objects to the ballot, and in another pamphlet this shall be fully discussed. The subject is of too much interest to dismiss here in a few lines only. Mr. Hare evidently hopes that undue influence will be so guarded against and checked by the heightened standard of electoral morals induced in the working out of the scheme of personal representation of which he is the author, that he provides for open voting by voting papers, signed by the elector, and these are to be delivered by the voter personally at the polling booth, save under special circumstances.

Mr. Hare's views on the suffrage are that the qualification should be accessible to every man when he acquires a home and settles to an occupation in life. He says with reference to woman, that given the same qualification as the man, there is no sound reason for excluding her from the parliamentary franchise. He would not disqualify judicial officers, clergymen, or officials from becoming representatives. Numerous readers will doubtless agree in thinking that too many probable causes of mischief abound in the adoption of this item. The Judge on the Bench who may have to try a political prisoner should be kept as free as possible from party bias. The system of government in England will most certainly have to undergo a thorough purification before civil service appointments can cease to be regarded as possible wages for ministerial support. He condemns the payment of members, but would limit each candidate's election expenses to £50. This sum would be a sort of guarantee against crowding the lists with sham candidates.

All the present machinery of elections would be thrown out of gear by the successful introduction of Mr. Hare's views. We should no longer have the inhabitants of each place divided into parties seeking to return their candidate against the desire of the political opponent Instead of the elections being, as now, a contest for power in which some get their representative elected, and some vote and see all

their labours fruitless, and their political effort entirely wasted, we should have the election an endeavour to select the ablest representative, each voter knowing that if he had anywhere in the country a quota of sympathising electors, he was sure of being represented in Parliament by the man of his choice. At present our electoral system divides the voters into adverse parties arrayed under formal names, and prevents the expression of the true and individual opinions of the members of either party. "It lowers the force of thought and conscience, reduces the most valuable electoral elements to inaction, and converts the better motives of those who act into an effort for success, and a mere calculation of the means of accomplishing it." Mr Hare's plan would enable the individual expression of opinion to become a reality, not a sham; it would develop a more self-reliant tone in those electors who at present are crushed out of vigour by the consciousness of their numerical helplessness. It would enable them to enter the House of Commons gathering their votes from east, west, north, and south, who under the present system could never get a majority in any one place, and who yet perhaps are better entitled to rank themselves as representative men in the country than are half the elected members of the Commons House of Parliament.

Those people who have not yet the suffrage right should submit Mr. Hare's views to careful investigation, in order to ascertain whether the bill he proposes would, if enacted, result, as I firmly believe it would, in increasing their opportunities of acquiring the franchise, by placing in Parliament various men having knowledge of and trusted by the people, to whom parliamentary action is at present impossible. Those who hold the reins of government entirely in their own grasp should seriously consider whether it would not be far wiser to carry such a measure now they have the ability, and while there is no hostile popular pressure, than to wait until a stormy reformation has swept them from power, and a manhood suffrage, conceded to the agitated masses to prevent a continuance of riot and revolt, has politically annihilated the classes who have hitherto usurped the

entire government of the state. The governing minority might in a time of political repose, such as the present, gracefully enact Mr. Hare's measure on the ground that it was just and beneficial to the people; although, notwithstanding that it will be equally just in the next generation, its future benefits will be special to themselves. It would, however, be difficult for the minority of high birth and great estates to obtain the enactment for themselves from an irritated and overwhelming majority of a measure which, when themselves powerful, they had refused.

It is desirable that both sides should regard the question of the political enfranchisement of the people as of equal interest and common benefit. To adopt a phrase of Burke's, politics ought to be adjusted to human nature, and the proper business of the government ought to be to ascertain the general wish and requirements of the nation, legislating in accordance therewith. In one of his speeches the eloquent calumniator of the French Revolution said, "The people will have it so, and it is not for their representatives to say nay;" yet either of the members now sitting for Manchester may hear that the non-electors, inhabitants of that city, have assembled to the number of 40,000 in front of the Infirmary, declaring in favour of some measure, and he may, under present circumstances, altogether disregard their united voice, because politically they are dumb. Each individual of the 40,000 may be a tax-paying, law-observing machine, but he is destitute of any rights as a citizen: he has no vote, no voice in the government of his country. The Imperial Parliament is elected without his sanction, he contributes no choice, has no part in its selection; all his duty is to obey its edicts, his privilege to pay and pine.

That a great political struggle is impending, must be evident to every student of history. In every nation of the world, each period of assault by the governed on their governors for the obtainment of some share in the right to manage the business of the nation, has been preceded by a strong expression of heretical views. This is natural, for what is the latter but the manifestation of an education incon-

sistent with political slavery? While the masses are ignorant they believe everything and remain without the suffrage, but as they are gradually educated to confute the delusions of their ancient teachers, the superstitionists who frightened their children with bogey, so they are also educated enough to dispute the dictum of the great landed aristocracy who treat the nation as in its babyhood, and declare it incapable of self-government. At the present moment the nation, by its wide and fast increasing out-uttered heresy, manifests a rapid extension of education, and I therefore do not believe that it will wait for a very long time before its attention is turned to the achievement of some such result as the real representation of the people in Parliament.

No conclusion can be fitter for this brief pamphlet than the renewed recommendation to our readers to obtain for themselves Mr. Hare's volume, of which Mr. Mill says that —"it deserves a high rank among manuals of political thought," and that "the system it embodies will be recognised as alone just in principle, as one of the greatest of all practical improvements, and as the most efficient safeguard of further parliamentary reform."

GEORGE

PRINCE OF WALES;

WITH RECENT CONTRASTS AND COINCIDENCES.

BY

CHARLES BRADLAUGH.



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THE LIFE OF GEORGE PRINCE OF WALES,

WITH RECENT CONTRASTS AND COINCIDENCES.

"'God save the King!' It is a large economy
In God to save the like; but if he will
Be saving all the better: for not one am I
Of those who think damnation better still."—BYRON.

GEORGE AUGUSTUS FREDERICK PRINCE OF WALES, was born on August 12th, 1762. He was the son of George III. by the Queen Sophia Charlotte. George III. was thrice married, once privately in 1759, at Curzon Street Chapel, May Fair, to Hannah Lightfoot, a Quakeress, and afterwards on September 18th, 1761, publicly to the Princess Sophia Charlotte of Mecklenberg Strelitz. As Hannah Lightfoot was living at the time of the second marriage, the offspring of that bigamous union would have been illegitimate if George III. had not been King of England. Fortunately it is one of the maxims of our glorious constitution, that the King can do no wrong; besides which, the marriage with Hannah Lightfoot has been positively denied, although it is said that the Earl of Abercorn and Lord Harcourt, amongst others, informed Queen Charlotte of the actuality of the first marriage. I accept the denial, even in the teeth of the fact, for a royal denial, as was shown in the case of the Fitzherbert marriage, of the Duke of York scandal, and of the Mordaunt divorce, is of greater value than any evidence; and in this case I accept the denial of the Lightfoot marriage the more readily, as if the story of that union were true it would cast grave doubts on the right of Her Most Gracious Majesty to reign over us. The only title English monarchs have to their crowns—and it must be admitted that this title is an all-sufficient one—is that of hereditary right. The monarchs of some countries have been selected by their peoples: our kings and queens are bred from special foreign stocks, and inherit the right to reign just as other persons inherit entailed estates, and any blot on the legitimacy would weaken the right. It is some comfort to know that George III. married Queen Charlotte

twice, the second marriage being solemnised at Kew, in 1765; but whether Hannah Lightfoot was then dead or alive is a matter on which it is difficult to express an opinion. At any rate, if there had ever been any doubt as to the legitimacy of George Prince of Wales, the second solemnisation of the marriage with Sophia Charlotte may give all loyal subjects more ease of mind as to the title of the later born members of the Royal Family. Those who argue that Hannah Lightfoot died in 1765, make strange suggestions as to a severe attack of mental disease, which, commencing at this time, although partially repressed, ultimately reappeared, and many years after terminated in the absolute idiocy of George III.

There is a great contrast between the parents of Prince George and those of the present Prince of Wales. The late Prince Consort is known as Albert the Good, and the statues erected through the country testify more strikingly than his many less known grand deeds, to the great esteem in which his memory is held by all loyal Englishmen; but George III. was described by Lord Brougham in the following fashion:—"Of a narrow understanding, which no culture had enlarged; of an obstinate disposition, which no education perhaps could have humanised; of strong feelings in ordinary things, and a resolute attachment to all his own opinions and predilections, George III. possessed much of the firmness of purpose which, being exhibited by men of contracted mind without any discrimination, and as pertinaciously when they are in the wrong as when they are in the right, lends to their characters an appearance of inflexible consistency, which is often mistaken for greatness of mind, and not seldom received as a substitute for honesty. In all that related to his kingly office he was the slave of deep-rooted selfishness; and no feeling of a kindly nature ever was allowed access to his bosom whenever his power was concerned." So one who had a fair opportunity of judging writes of the father, and the criticism may aid us to understand his son. It is said that on some rare occasions, George III. could be privately and munificently generous; the name of the father of our present Prince of Wales figured in many public lists of charitable subscriptions, but

it has never been suggested that he in any way concealed the natural liberality of his disposition. George IV. was by letters patent created Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester; as first born, he was Duke of Cornwall and of Rothesay, Earl of Carrick and Baron of Renfrew. The present Prince of Wales was also created Earl of Dublin, a title afterwards deserved by his praiseworthy exertions at Punchestown Races for the amelioration of the condition of the Irish people. When George Prince of Wales was only nineteen, he became with his brother Frederick, who was not only Duke of York, but was elected Bishop of Osnaburgh when eleven months old, the subject of much hostile comment. One writer says, "at this period the Prince and his eldest brother were associated in dissipation of every species: their love of gaming was proverbial, and their excess of indulgence in voluptuousness was sufficient to drain the resources of the country."

How great the contrast between the conduct of these two royal princes and that of the present Prince of Wales and his brother the Duke of Edinburgh. Omitting the Continental papers, some of which have dared to print suggestions as to the habits of the first, and the Colonial papers, some of which have been wicked enough to charge the second with open and notorious licentiousness, and leaving as unworthy notice Sir Charles Mordaunt's reference to "the previous bad character" of the present heir-apparent, we defy the finger of slander to touch in any of our respectable journals the slightest remark of a depreciatory character against either of our well-beloved royal princes; except o me provincial journal like the *Royal Leamington Chronle*, or cheap paper like *Reynolds's*, all our free and indeendent press writers agreeing in testifying to the purity of he living scions of the House of Brunswick. George Prince of Wales called himself Florizel, and his *liaison* with Mary Robinson as Perdita was one of the most notorious amongst the escapades of his early life. Mrs. Baddeley states that it commenced when the Prince was little more than fourteen. "But," asks Thackeray, "shall we take the Leporello part, flourish a catalogue of the conquests of this royal Don Juan, and tell the names of the favourites to

whom one after the other Prince George flung his pocket-handkerchief? What purpose would it answer to say how Perdita was pursued, won, deserted, and by whom succeeded?" As Thackeray refrained with George, so we refrain with Albert Edward, and from Broadwood downwards draw a discreet veil of reticence which only hides from those who cannot see:—

"Who has a thing to bring
For a gift to our lord the King,
Our King all Kings above?
A young girl brought him love;
And he dowered her with shame,
With a sort of infamous fame,
And then with lonely years
Of penance and bitter tears.
Love is scarcely the thing
To bring as a gift for our King."

The marriage of Prince George, in 1786, to Mrs. Fitzherbert, gained additional *éclat* from the fact that George is said to have written a letter to Charles James Fox, authorising him to deny in Parliament that the formal solemnity had ever taken place. Thackeray's answer ought to have been given to Mr. Rolle, in the House of Commons, in lieu of that spoken by C. J. Fox, who is alleged to have been present at the marriage, and yet asserted to the Legislature, if Hansard be reliable, that "it never did happen." The author of "Vanity Fair" says that George "did actually marry Mrs. Fitzherbert according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church; that her marriage settlements have been seen in London, and that the names of the witnesses to her marriage are known." Yet, of what avail is an author's word against the denial of a Prince? When George attained his majority he had an allowance of £50,000 per annum, together with a grant of £60,000 for furnishing Carlton House. When Albert Edward attained his majority he had £40,000 a year voted him by Parliament, he had the income of the Duchy of Cornwall, exceeding net £60,000 per annum, and he had the enormous accumulations of his minority, amounting to something like a million sterling. Neither George

Prince nor Albert Edward Prince limited his expenditure to the amount of his income. The debts of George came before the Parliament; the pecuniary embarrassments of Albert Edward, although matter of common talk in some circles, are at present better concealed. The House of Commons in 1787, voted about £160 000 for the payment of the Prince of Wales's debts, solemn pledges of economy for the future being given by, and on behalf of, the royal insolvent. It is a question whether the present Parliament would vote, and whether the country would submit to a repetition of such a payment. In 1788, George III. was mad, and no greater proof can be advanced of the perfect and unimpeachable character of our monarchy than the fact that, with an insane head, the Government went on quite as well as when he was in possession of all his faculties. The mere fact that Jamaica had mutinied, that the American Colonies had broken our oppressive yoke, and that Ireland was held by force and fraud, must not be allowed to militate against our approval of George's reign. That war cost during it more than £1 200 000,000, renders the memory of George III. as dear to us, as the King was in life to the members of the London Corresponding Society. I know that one furious Radical, Earl Grey, speaks as if the monarchy were always better without the King than with him, for he declares that "the highly beneficial custom of holding Cabinet Councils without the presence of the Sovereign arose from George I. not knowing English." And Earl Grey had the audacity to publish this in the reign of her present Majesty, whose constant help and aid in the government of the nation is known to be so highly valuable. I once heard a public lecturer, describing the crowned head of this great empire, say—"What is the position which England's monarch occupies in the great vessel of the State? He is not the paddle-wheel nor the screw, neither the mast, the sails, the rigging, the bulwarks, nor the keel; he is the highly decorated figure-head, always costly, not always handsome, and never useful."

In consequence of the state of mind of George III., debates took place in the House of Commons as to the Regency. The friends of the Prince claimed it for him as

a right; Pitt, on the contrary, maintained the terribly revolutionary doctrine, that in the event of incapacity on the part of the reigning monarch, the right to nominate the Regent rested with the Parliament. Everyone will see that this is a most dangerous doctrine, for it is equivalent to declaring that the nation has the legal right to select its own ruler on any vacancy occurring in the occupancy of the throne. Fortunately, the King temporarily recovered his reason. When sane, George III. bitterly disliked his eldest son, and showed that dislike in various fashions—the King and heir apparent were seldom or never seen together. To-day no such division can be shown between the reigning monarch and Crown Prince; and although it is true that on the recent royal visit to the City the Prince of Wales was unavoidably absent, it must not be forgotten that immediately his royal mother had left London for Windsor, Albert Edward delighted all loyal citizens by his attendance the same evening at one of the new theatres. George Prince of Wales was called the first gentleman in Europe; that is, he was so styled while he was alive, although posthumous critics have disputed his claim to the title; no such dispute is, however, likely to arise in any case with reference to the present Prince of Wales. His royal thoughtfulness for his guests, the sons of the Viceroy of Egypt, when a careless coachman had overturned them in the mud, will remain an ineffaceable testimony of his sensitive and well-trained nature. George is said to have been praised, and not unduly, for his highly cultivated mind, his elegant accomplishments, and his personal graces. Albert Edward has been honoured in the cartoon of the *Tomahawk* with a pictorial epitome of *his* elegant accomplishments.

In 1788, 1789, and 1790, in order to raise money, George Prince of Wales, Frederick Duke of York, and William Henry Duke of Clarence, issued joint and several bonds, bearing interest, and payable within six months after either of them should ascend the throne. These bonds were issued to an extent in all of nearly one million sterling nominal, but were of course placed at heavy discount. The holders, who were mostly foreigners, were prevented from being importunate creditors by deportation under the Alien Act

from this country, and by accusations of treason in their own land. In 1794, the Prince of Wales owing then about £650,000, a bargain was made that George should marry his cousin Princess Caroline Louisa of Brunswick, and that the nation should not only pay all his debts, but also increase his annual allowance. George wanted his debts paid, but did not want to marry, and the copy of a letter is preserved, from him to his proposed spouse, in which he asks her to refuse to marry him, tells her that he loves another woman, and finally winds up: "You would find in me a husband who places all his affections upon another. If this secret which I name to you in confidence does not cause you to reject me; if ambition, or any other motive of which I am ignorant, cause you to condescend to the arrangements of my family, learn that, as soon as you shall have given an heir to the throne, I will abandon you, never to meet you more in public." It is wonderful how any woman could have married a man writing her such a letter. George said, "You cannot accuse me of having deceived you." Not only were the £650,000 debts paid, and the Prince's allowance increased from £60,000 to £100.000 per annum, but £71,000 additional was voted for plate, jewels, and marriage sundries, at Carlton House. Six months after the marriage the starving poor cried, "Give us bread," "No famine." King George III. was pelted on his way to open Parliament, and, when he arrived at Westminster, was so frightened "that," says a Parliamentary writer, "his face was flushed and swollen, his eyes were momentarily turned from side to side, and his manner evinced the utmost perturbation." In great fear the Treason and Sedition Acts were hurried through Parliament.

It is alleged that George asked for a glass of brandy after his first interview with his bride elect, and that when he was married, on April 8th, 1795, he did not even remain sober on the wedding-day. No such disgraceful charge could be repeated against Albert Edward, whose constant sobriety, at home and abroad, might serve as an example for loyal temperance lecturers. That *La Cigale* should pretend against our prince, habits more like those of his princely predecessor, is an illustration of the licence of the foreign

press, and that rumour should suggest an instance of public insobriety on the Boulevard des Italiens, shows how far mud may be thrown at royal ermine of the most spotless purity." Thackeray speaks of how George "reeled into chapel to be married; how he hiccupped out his vows of fidelity."

A daughter was born to Prince George on January 7th, 1796. She was named Charlotte Augusta, and immediately after her birth, Prince George, as he threatened, separated himself from his wife.

In 1803, the excesses of Prince George caused him further embarrassment, and £60,000 a-year extra were for three years and a half devoted to the liquidation of his liabilities. Who dare write at length the names of the women—some titled and fashionable—who helped to spend this money? In the Duke of Buckingham's letters, vague references at a later date to one titled dame might be explained in regard to the expenditure of this period:—

"Who has a thing to bring
For a gift to our lord the King?
A harlot brought him her flesh,
Her lusts, and the manifold mesh
Of her wiles intervolved with caprice;
And he gave her his realm to fleece,
To corrupt, to ruin, and gave
Himself for her toy and her slave.
Harlotry's just the thing
To bring as a gift for our king."

The Marchioness of Conyngham, one of the many temporary wives of this modern Solomon, amongst other gifts, had jewels value £80,000. Lady Jersey, another favourite, shared in the work of spoiling the Egyptians. Thackeray says, that the Prince of Wales' turf experiences were unlucky as well as discreditable. He was accused of cheating with his horse Escape, and although of course acquitted, left the Jockey Club in consequence. The Prince living separate from the Princess of Wales, all kinds of rumours were circulated, one allegation being that since the living apart, another and illegitimate child had been born to her, and a Royal Commission, including the Lord Chancellor and Lord Chief Jus-

tice of England, was issued to investigate these slanderous allegations; the official report made is supposed to have thoroughly cleared Princess Caroline's character and to have demonstrated the most wicked conduct on the part of Queen Sophia Charlotte and Prince George, but King George III. "directed it should be destroyed, and every trace of the proceedings on the affair buried in oblivion." William Cobbett, however, obtained a copy of all the depositions, either from the Princess of Wales, or from Mr. Perceval, and printed them in a special number of his *Political Register*. In a letter printed some time after her acquittal, the Princess of Wales describes the evidence offered against her before the Royal Commissioners, as "the perjuries of my suborned traducers." In 1809, another royal scandal rang through Europe. His Royal Highness the Duke of York was Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's forces, and it was proved before Parliament, by one of his many repudiated mistresses, a Mrs. Mary Ann Clark, that several sums of money had been paid to that lady by officers desirous of procuring promotion. One sum received by Mrs. Clark was shown, by corroborative testimony, to have been applied in part payment of a jeweller's bill, for which the Duke of York was liable. A note was produced which several witnesses, some of them of most unassailable character, declared to be in the Duke's handwriting, and the contents of which referred to the case. The Duke, however, declared the note to be a forgery, and the House of Commons, by a large majority, acquitted him of any participation in the scandalous corruption which undoubtedly took place.

The Duke of York declared, on "the honour of a Prince," that he knew nothing of the corruption proved at the bar of the House. One member of the House of Commons, Mr. Tierney, replied that "It was easy to conceive that His Royal Highness would have been prompt to declare his innocence upon a vital point; but why declare it upon 'the honour of a Prince?' for the thing had no meaning." Mr. Lyttleton, another member of the Parliamentary Committee, said, "If it were in the power of the House to send down to posterity the character of the Duke of York unsullied—if their proceedings did not extend beyond their journals, he should

almost be inclined to concur in the vote of acquittal, even in opposition to his sense of duty. But though the House should acquit his Royal Highness, the proofs would still remain, and public opinion would be guided by them, and not by the decision of the House. It was in the power of the House to save its own character, but not that of the Commander-in-Chief." Mr. Wilberforce demanded the Duke of York's removal from office as "a reparation to the wounded morality of the country." Lord Temple urged that "His Royal Highness cannot be prudently continued a servant of the public." "Wherever he went the deep murmurs of public indignation would strike his ear." Lord Milton said, "His Royal Highness had given in a letter in which he declared on the honour of a Prince that he was innocent," "to his other guilt his Royal Highness had added that of falsehood." Fortunately for lovers of monarchy, a majority of 364 members against 123 brought in, in effect, a verdict of not guilty, and although the Duke of York resigned his high office, his character was freed from all stain. Now, his Royal Highness George William Frederick Charles Guelph Duke of Cambridge, son of the seventh son of George III., happens to be the present Commander-in-Chief. The nation pays to H.R.H. £12,000 per annum, as a slight mark of gratitude for having been born of Royal blood. It pays him also £4,432 for being Field Marshal Commander-in-Chief, and permits him also to receive another £5 000 a year for performing the task—so distasteful to his honourable nature—of holding four sinecure colonelcies. He has the full character of Brunswick bravery and—inheriting courage from his princely father, whose gallant conduct in leaving his command in Hanover, in 1803, covered his name with glory—has gathered enough of laurels in the Crimea to keep his reputation as a warrior green for ever. Of course, in the pure hands of H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, all suspicion of anything like improper influences in the administration of army patronage is out of the question, and any repetition of the Duke of York scandal simply impossible. Nevertheless, the *Belfast News Letter*, in a paragraph which went round the press about twelve months since, said—

"The whisper of a grave scandal has become so loud in circles where reliable information is generally to be found, that it is no longer possible to leave it unnoticed. It relates to a very high personage, whose position ought to place him high above the breath of suspicion, but whose private life is sullied by excesses which threaten to bring disgrace upon the order to which he belongs, and even to sully the ermine of Royalty itself. Had the causes of complaint or of reprobation been confined to private history alone, the probability is that the veil might not have been raised; but it is asserted that a flagrant abuse of patronage has long prevailed in the department over which the person in question holds imperial sway, and that the storm of dissatisfaction is attaining a strength which will probably lead the House of Commons, in the interests of the public, to direct an inquiry into the circumstances of the case. The subject is one of extreme delicacy, but, in a reforming age like the present, if suspicion justly attaches, it would seem but right that those who are responsible for the honour of the administration, whether it be military, naval, or civil, should interfere, ere it be too late, to prevent a great scandal, if not national reproach. It is rumoured that certain facts in connection with the matter have been laid before the chief adviser of the Crown."

His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, ought to regret that neither Colonel Wardle, nor Lord Folkestone, nor Sir Francis Burdett is now in the House of Commons, to move for a parliamentary inquiry into the foundation of the above scandalous statement, for there can be no doubt that the Duke would be thoroughly cleared from all imputation, despite the allegation of the *Queen's Messenger*, that "his department is such an Augean stable of corruption, that it can never be cleansed unless the Serpentine is made to flow through it." Just as His Royal Highness the Duke of York was cleared by the vote of the House of Commons, and as His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was freed from suspicion by the recent decision in the Mordaunt case, so would the Duke of Cambridge emerge unsullied from the ordeal of a parliamentary inquiry into the present distribution of army patronage. It is no light question; the money value of the preferment distributed in the department over which the Duke presides has already exceeded £2,000,000 sterling, and the central administration of the English army costs nearly three times as much as that of the French

whose forces are at least five times as numerous. In 1810, a tragedy took place in connection with the Royal Family of an almost unparalleled character. His Royal Highness Ernest Augustus Guelph Duke of Cumberland, fifth son of George III.—whom Daniel O'Connell described as "the mighty great liar," and of whom another said that "sensibility and virtue were strangers to his breast"—was wounded in his own room on the night of the 31st May. The wounds are said to have been inflicted by the Duke's valet, Sellis, who was found dead in bed. Sir Everard Home, the physician, says that Sellis clearly killed himself; another account says that Sellis's "head was nearly severed from the body." An inquest was held on Sellis, but the jury not being permitted to see the body, refused to give any verdict, and a second jury was got together who returned a verdict of *felo de se* against Sellis. While it is not possible now to say one word which can clear this mystery, it must not be forgotten as an illustration of the general virtues popularly attributed to the Royal Family, that it was repeatedly alleged that Sellis did not commit suicide; that no evidence was offered showing that he had any reasons for destroying himself, nor was it proved that he had shown any disposition towards such a course. On the contrary, it was urged that "the motive for getting rid of Sellis was the Duke's fear lest the man should reveal a secret inculpating his royal master in a crime of the most horrible description." While there is no reason for even supposing Sellis to have been murdered, it must be admitted that the Duke of Cumberland was extremely unfortunate in the matter of suicides. Twenty years later, Lord Graves committed suicide at a time when his existence interfered with the Duke's intimacy with Lady Graves, and Englishmen may rejoice that, bad as are some of the living Royal Princes, there is not one amongst them whose career can be regarded as coincident with that of the Duke of Cumberland.

In 1811, Prince George was appointed Regent, £100,000 extra being voted to him to enable him to bear the cost of the assumption of regal authority, and public opinion may be not unfairly judged by the following extract from a letter printed by the famous Junius, reproaching him for non-

performance of his duties as ruler, and contrasting the Prince Regent with his father, the poor mad King :—

"It is true we had gained little by the private virtues of a sovereign, since they had neither benefited his people nor taught his children morality; but if not publicly useful, they were a barrier to reproach. He did not stain the throne with vice, nor drown the clamours of the people in the midnight revel. Content himself to walk soberly through his part, he left the busy action of the scene to others, but never shrunk his share in the performance. We did not call him from the stews to the Council-board; from the bed of adultery to the seat of honour. Sir, it is said you plume yourself upon that princely qualification called honour, but is it in the abandonment of every sacred tie or moral obligation? Is it in the open disregard of the world's reproof, and the stoical indifference to the calls of nature and humanity? Is it honour which prompts you to quit the arms of a wife for the endearments of a wanton; or with unblushing effrontery to introduce that wanton before the chaste eye of your Royal Mother? Is it a proof of princely honour to toy away the night in debauchery, the day in lascivious enjoyment, and bid the business of the world stand still? While your country groans in distress, and your people are sinking under their privations, is it a sense of princely honour which bids you revel in profusion, and mock their sorrows with your ostentatious prodigality? It is said you have so far outstripped the boundaries of enjoyment, that luxury and sensuality toil after you in vain; would you be redeemed from a state so calamitously despicable, go visit the abode of your wretched subjects, and take a lesson from patient indigence." "If this afford not an antidote to the listless apathy of your disposition, deign but to hearken to the grievances and wrongs which overwhelm your people, and the sense of apprehension must woo you back to reason."

No Junius lives to-day with fiery pen to scorch the princely vices of another George.

On May 3, 1816, Princess Charlotte of Wales was married to Prince Leopold, of Saxe Coburg Prince Leopold had been previously married on January 2 1815, to the Countess of Cohaky, who was alive at the time of the marriage with Princess Charlotte of Wales. That this was another instance of bigamy is an addition to our story so trifling that we pass it by without further comment. The Princess of Wales died in child-bed on the 6th November, 1817; Prince George never communicated the death to her mother, "the most

brutal omission," says Mr. Wynn, in his letter to the Duke of Buckingham, "I ever remember, and one which would attach disgrace in private life."

On the 23rd January, 1820, the Duke of Kent died. On the evening of Friday, the 28th January, 1820, died officially King George III.

> "He died!—his death made no great stir on earth,
> His burial made some pomp; there was profusion
> Of velvet gilding, brass, and no great dearth
> Of aught but tears.
> The new world shook him off; the old yet groans
> Beneath what he and his prepared, if not
> Completed: he leaves heirs on many thrones
> To all his vices, without what begot
> Compassion for him—his tame virtues."

For some time the old King had been blind, deaf, and incurably mad, and yet his Grace of Buckingham and Sir William Knighton, tell us that the news of his death was received by George IV. "with a burst of grief which was very affecting." Living, the son had hated the father; for ten years that father had suffered chronic lunacy, but his good son finds affectionate grief for the dead as recompense for lack of filial love for the living.

In the succeeding month came the Thistlewood conspiracy, chiefly promoted, if not originally concocted, by an infamous scoundrel in the employ of the Castlereagh Government, who used the weaknesses of foolish and desperate men in order to terrify the timid by fear of treason and outrage from pursuing real political reform. Some coincidences quite as fearful, and even more thoroughly the result of police fabrication, might be found in Ireland and England in the present reign. Trials for sedition abounded. Henry Hunt, Sir Francis Burdett, Sir Charles Wolseley, Mr. Joseph Harrison, were all convicted and sentenced during the months of March and April. Colonel McMahon, who had been pimp and pander-general to the vicious appetite of George Prince of Wales, having died, and his private papers having passed into the hands of Mr. William Knighton, a physician, discreet reticence made Sir William Knighton the confidential adviser of the now worn-out and irritable debauchee. Next came the trial of the Queen, before the

House of Lords, for alleged adultery with Bartollomeo Bergami, of which Thackeray says, "As I read her trial in history I vote she is not guilty. I don't say it is an impartial verdict; but as one reads her story, the heart bleeds for the kindly, generous, outraged creature. If wrong there be, let it be at his door who wickedly thrust her from it." In August, 1820, one of Fremantle's letters to the Duke of Buckingham speaks of the treason, sedition, and blasphemy permeating the press, and a few weeks later Lord Cassilis writes, arguing against any reduction of the army, "a soldier less, and we shall have revolution and civil war." In July, 1821, King George IV. was crowned, his Queen, Caroline, whose name had been previously erased from the Liturgy, being refused admittance even to the Coronation ceremony. It was with George as Prince, not George as King that we desired here to deal. Some other time we may take the ten years of his reign from Coronation to death, and try to wade through the intrigues at the Cottage, the influence of Lady —, &c., of which the Buckingham letters say so much and tell so little. It is too much to try to sketch, in a few words, a concluding portrait of the rapidly-corrupting mass of foulness which seldom sat on the throne, or did kingly duty, but which Englishmen prayed for every Sunday, and honoured in their National Anthem,

"God save our gracious King."

"Here," says Thackeray, "was one who never resisted any temptation; never had a desire, but he coddled it and pampered it; if he ever had any nerve, frittered it away among cooks, and tailors, and barbers, and furnituremongers, and opera dancers," "all fiddling, and flowers, and feasting, and flattery, and folly," "a monstrous image of pride, vanity, and weakness." From the accession of George III. in 1760, to the death of George IV., in 1830, the Royal Family of England received from the national treasury no less than £92,090,807.

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A LETTER FROM A FREEMASON

TO GENERAL H.R.H. ALBERT EDWARD,

PRINCE OF WALES,

Duke of Saxony, Cornwall, and Rothesay; Earl of Dublin, Colonel 10th Hussars, Colonel-in-Chief of the Rifle Brigade, Captain-General and Colonel of the Hon. Artillery Company, K.G., G.C.S.I., K.T., G.C.B., K.P., etc., etc., etc.

TO BR.·. H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES.

DEAR BR.·.—I do not ask you to pardon this, to the profane, perhaps an apparently too familiar style of address, although I do pray pardon if I have unintentionally omitted many of your numerous titles in the formal superscription to this letter. I have never written before to a Prince, and may lack good manners in thus inditing; but to my brother Masons I have often written, and know they love best a plain, fraternal greeting, if the purpose of the epistle be honest.

You have voluntarily on your part, and unsought on my side, commenced by accepting me as a brother, and you have cemented this fraternity by specially swearing to protect me on appeal in my hour of danger; and though history teaches me that sworn promises are less well kept than steadfast, manly pledges, and that Princes' oaths are specially rotten reeds to lean upon; yet in the warmth of newly created brother, I am inclined to believe you brother—for we are brethren, you and I—not brothers perhaps as we should be of the same common humanity—for in this land I know that Princes are no fair mates for those who are pauper born; but we are brothers by your own choice, members of the same fraternity by your own joining; men self-associated in the same grand Masonic brotherhood, and it is for that reason I write you this letter. You, though now a Past Grand Master, are but recently a free and accepted Master

Mason, and probably yet know but little of the grand traditions of the mighty organisation whose temple doors have opened to your appeal. My knowledge of the mystic branch gained amongst the Republicans of all nations is of some years' older date. You are now, as a Freemason, excommunicate by the Pope—so am I. It is fair to hope that the curse of the Church of Rome may have a purifying and chastening effect on your future life, at least as efficacious as the blessing of the Church of England has had on your past career. You have entered into that illustrious fraternity which has numbered in its ranks Swedenborg, Voltaire, and Garibaldi. These are the three who personify grand Idealism and Poetic Madness; Wit and Genius, and true Humanity; manly Energy, sterling Honesty, and hearty Republicanism. My sponsor was Simon Bernard—yours, I hear, was the King of Sweden.

In writing, dear brother, I do not address you as a Prince of Wales, for some of our Princes of Wales have been drunken, riotous spendthrifts, covered in debt, and deep in dishonour; but you, dear brother, instead of being such an one, figure more reputably as the erudite member of a Royal Geographical Society, or as a steady fellow of the Worshipful Company of Fishmongers. Happily there is no fear that in your case a second Doctor Doran may have to pen the narrative of a delicate investigation. If Junius were alive to-day, his pen would not dare to repeat its fierce attack on another Prince of Wales. Junius charged George, Prince of Wales, with quitting the arms of his wife for the endearments of a wanton, with toying away the night in debauchery, and with mocking the sorrows of the people with an ostentatious prodigality. But your pure career, your sober and virtuous life, would win laudations even from Junius's ghost. You are an English gentleman, as well as Prince of Wales; a good and kind husband in spite of being Prince of Wales; with you woman's honour is safe from attack, and sure of protection. The draggled and vice-stained plumes on your predecessors' escutcheons have been well cleaned and straightened by modern journalism, and the Prince of Wales' feathers are no longer (like the Bourbon fleur de lis) the heraldic ornament of a race of princes *sans foi, sans mœurs*. Fit were you as profane to make the journeys to the Altar, for fame writes you as sober and chaste,

as high-minded and generous, as kind-hearted and truthful. These are the qualities, oh Albert Edward, which hid your disability as Prince, when you knelt bare-kneed in our audience chamber. The brethren who opened your eyes to the light, overlooked your title as Prince of Wales in favour of your already famous manhood. Your career is a pleasant contrast to that of George Prince of Wales. Yet because you are as different from the princes whose bodies are dust, while their memories still remain to the historian as visible monuments of shame, I write to you, not as English Prince, but as brother Master Mason. Nor do I address you in your right as one of Saxony's princes, for amongst my memories of other men's readings, I have thoughts of some in Saxony's electoral roll, who were lustful, lecherous, and vile; who were vicious sots and extravagant wasters of their peoples' earnings, who have lured for their seraglios each fresh face that came within their reach: while you, though Duke of Saxony, have joined a brotherhood whose main intent is the promotion of the highest morality. I do not indeed regard your title of Duke at all in writing you, for when we find a Duke of Newcastle's property in the hands of Sheriffs' Officers, his title a jest for bankruptcy messengers, and the Duke of Hamilton's name an European byeword, it is pleasant to be able to think that the Duke of Cornwall and Rothesay is not as these Dukes are; that this Duke is not a runner after painted donzels, that he has not written cuckold on the forehead of a dozen husbands, that he is not deep in debt, has not, like these Dukes, scattered gold in filthy gutters, while deaf to the honest claims of justice. We know, brother, that you would never have voluntarily enrolled yourself in the world's grandest organisation, if you had been as these. It would have been perjury if you had done so—perjury which, though imperially honoured at the Tuileries, would be scouted with contempt by a Lancashire workman.

I do not write to you as Earl of Dublin, for Ireland's English-given earls have been as plagues to her vitals and curses to her peoples. For 700 years, like locusts, they have devoured the verdure of her fields, and harassed the tillers of her soil. From the Earl of Chepstow to the Earl of Dublin, is the mere journeying from iron gauntlet to greedy glove—take and hold; and Irish peasantry, in deep

despair, unable to struggle, have learned to hate the Earls with whom English rule has blessed them. Nor even is this letter sent to you as Knight of the Garter, for when I read "*Honi soit qui mal y pense*," I shrink from calculating the amount of evil that might fall upon some people in the world who occupy their thoughts with princes who are Gartered Knights. Nor do I pen this to you as Colonel either of Cavalry, Infantry, or Artillery, for I can but wonder at and admire the glorious military feats which, though your modesty has hidden them, have nevertheless entitled you to command your seniors, one at least with a Waterloo medal on his breast. Our history tells us of a warrior "Black Prince," who killed many foes; it can also in the future write of you as a gallant soldier before whom pheasant, plover, and pigeon could make no stand.

I write to you as a fellow Master Mason, as to one on an equality with myself, so long as you are true to your Masonic pledge, less than myself whenever you forget it. I address this epistle to you as fellow-member of a body which teaches that man is higher than king; that humanity is beyond church and creed; that true thought is nobler than blind faith, and that virile, earnest effort is better far than dead or submissive serfdom.

The Grand Lodge of England has just conferred upon you a dignity you have done nothing to earn; but you saw light in Sweden, and that initiation should have revealed to you that the highest honour will be won by manly effort, not squeezed from slavish, fawning sycophancy. Freemasonry is democracy, are you a Democrat? Freemasonry is Freethought, are you a Freethinker? Freemasonry is work for human deliverance, are you a worker? I know you may tell me in England of wine-bibbing, song-singing, meat-eating, and white kid glove-wearing fashionables who say "Shibboleth," make "royal salutes," and call this Freemasonry; but these are mere badge-wearers, who lift their legs awkwardly over the coffin in which truth lies buried, and who never either know the grand secret, or even work for its discovery. Come with me to-day, and I will show you, even in this country, lodges where the brethren work day and night to break through conventional fetters, where they toil hourly to break down imperial and princely shams, where as a prince they would scorn you, and where as

a man they would give you a brother's grip, and die with you or for you in the fight for human redemption and deliverance. Go to Joseph Mazzini, and he will tell you of lodges where, for fifty years, Poles and Italians have kept the sparks of liberty alive whilst Russian and Austrian tyranny was striving to trample and crush them out. Go into France, and the imperial tottering Lie—which has stood too long in the shadow of the first Desolator's bloody reputation—will, if it can (now it is near its grave), forget its daily life-practice, and speak truth by way of change—tell you that the Masonic Lodges of France have been the only temples in which for twenty years it has been possible to preach the gospel of civil and religious liberty. Read Br.·. Adolph Cremieux's recent declaration : "La Maçonnerie n'est pas la religion, n'est pas la foi, elle ne cherche pas dans le Maçon, le croyant, mais l'homme." Get Odo Russell to ask Mastai Ferrati, or some old woman, to inquire of Monseigneur l'Eveque d'Orleans, and each will tell you that in the lodges are the greatest enemies of the falling churches, the bravest preachers of heretic thought, and the most earnest incul cators of Republican earnestness. Or instead of going, with some noble German glutton, to a paltry casino, read, if only once or twice, a page of Europe's history for forty years before '93, and then Germany's and Sweden's Master Masons, speaking from their graves, shall tell you how their teachings helped to pulverise crowns and coronets, and build up living citizens out of theretofore dead slaves.

You have joined yourself to the Freemasons at a right moment, for true Freemasonry is about to be more powerful than Royalty. In Spain, at this moment, they have a government without a king; nay, more, in that land disgraced by many an *auto da fé*, there is hope of the growth of a people not in the hands of priests. The Revolution which trampled on the Crown, has raised the brain, and heresy has been spoken boldly in the legislative chamber. Freemasonry has in Iberia a grand mission, an arduous task. The Revolution has exiled the weak and wicked Queen. Freemasonry, to prevent the return of such royalty, has to strive for the development of a strong and useful people. In Italy, where the Honorary G.·. M.·. is our brother, Joseph Garibaldi, to-day they dream of a Government without a monarch. Turin, Florence, Naples, Rome, forgetting

petty dissensions and local differences, no longer misled by royally-tinselled vice, are striving and hoping for the time when an Italian Republic, with a Roman Senate, may once more claim the right to be in the vanguard of civilising peoples. Read, Brother, how at the recent Masonic Banquet at Florence, Frederic Campanella was greeted with *vivas* for the union "di tutti i Galantuomini" for the salvation of Italy. In England, even at this hour, we are—if the organs of blood and culture speak truly—very near forgetting the use of a Queen. The least learned in politics amongst our peoples now know that kings and queens here are only the costly gilded figureheads of the ship of State, its helm being in the hands of the nominees of our territorial aristocracy. Some begin to wonder whether the State might not be better served by sign less gaudy, and more in accordance with the material of which the bulk of the vessel is built. Others grumble downright that a sort of base Dutch metal should be imported in large quantities, as if we had no good British oak out of which to carve a king without disfiguring German silver or Dutch leaf. In France, men are working, with prospect of near success, to overthrow the fear-stricken, *soi-disant* nephew of the great Emperor; and in Europe, the Republic of United Germany is not so far away but that the grandchildren of living Prussian and Austrian subjects may read with wonderment of the value that foolish Englishmen set upon petty German princes. *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité*, form the Masonic trinity in unity. Do you believe in this trinity? Which will you be, prince or man? You give me the right to ask, for, cradled a prince, you have to-day (in the time which ought to be your manhood) sought admission to the ranks of men. In Freemasonry there are no princes; the only nobles in its true peerage muster-rolls must be noble men—men noble in thought, noble in effort, noble in endurance—men whose peerage is not of a parchment patent, but foot-trodden on the world's weary-to-climb life's ladder. In our Masonry there are no kings save in the kingship of manhood, "*Tous les hommes sont rois.*" Kings with pens for sceptres, king poets who make burning verse, and grand music to give life to the half-dead nation. Kings of prose, who pen history as impeachment of the few cruelly strong in the past, and who pen it that the many may learn neither to be cowardly nor weak in the grand struggle of the future.

You are a prince, but dare you be a man: for the sake of the Danish flower, whose bloom should gladden your life; for the sake of the toiling millions who are loyal from habit, and who will revolt reluctantly, but for peace will pay taxes readily; for the sake of the halo that history will show round your head in its pages? If you dare, let us see it. Go to Ireland—not to Punchestown races, at a cost to the people of more than two thousand pounds—but secretly amongst its poor, and learn their deep griefs. Walk in London, not in parade at its horse shows, where snobs bow and stumble, but in plain dress and unattended; in its Spitalfields, Bethnal Green, Isle of Dogs, and Seven Dials; go where the unemployed commence to cry in vain for bread, where hunger begins to leave its dead in the open streets, and try to find out why so many starve. Don corduroy and fustian, and ramble through the ploughed fields of Norfolk, Suffolk, Northamptonshire, Wiltshire, and other counties, where thirteen shillings per week are high wages, out of which the earner has to feed and clothe man, wife, and family, and pay rent.

Brother, before you die you will hear cries for a Republic in England, cries that will require the brains of a grand man to answer, cries which are gathering now, cries from the overtaxed, who pay, without thought and without inquiry, many more pounds in unearned pensions, for yourself and brother princes, than they will by-and-bye pay shillings, unless indeed you all work miracles, and make yourselves worth your money to the nation. Yet even this you might do; you might—you and your fellow princes in Europe—if you would disband your standing armies, get rid of the tinselled drones and gaudy court caterpillars, the State Church leeches, and hereditary cormorant tax-eaters, and then there would be a renewed lease of power for you, and higher happiness for the people. But whatever you determine to do, do quickly, or it will be too late. The *Vive la République* now heard from some lips in Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, Bordeaux, will soon be the voice of France, and there is an electric force in the echo of that cry—a force which evokes the lightning-like flash of popular indignation with such directness against princes who mock peoples, against kings who rule for themselves, and against peers who govern for their own class, that as in a moment the oak

which has stood for centuries, is stripped of its brown bark, and left bleached and blasted to wither, so is royalty stripped of its tinselled gilding and left naked and defenceless to the cold scorn of a justly indignant nation. As a Freemason you are bound to promote peace, but peace makes the strength of peoples, and discovers the weakness of princes. As a Freemason you are bound to succour the oppressed of the world, but then it will be against your fellow-princes. As a Freemason you are bound to aid in educating the ignorant, but if you do this you teach them that the sole authority kings can wield they derive from the people; that a nation may elect a chief magistrate to administer its laws, but cannot give away their liberties to a master who shall have the right to bequeath his authority over their children to his child. As a Freemason you are bound to encourage the development of Freethought, but Freethought is at war with the Church, and between Church and Crown there has ever been most unholy alliance against peoples. You were a prince by birth, it was your misfortune. Your have enrolled yourself a Freemason by choice, it shall either be your virtue or your crime—your virtue if you are true to its manly dutifulness; your crime if you dream that your blood royalty is of richer quality than the poorest drop in the veins of

A FREE AND ACCEPTED MASON.

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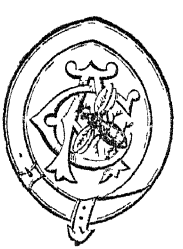
FIVE DEAD MEN

Whom I Knew when Living:

ROBERT OWEN, JOSEPH MAZZINI, CHARLES SUMNER, J. S. MILL, & LEDRU ROLLIN.

BY

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FIVE DEAD MEN WHOM I KNEW WHEN LIVING.

In selecting as the subject for a lecture "Five Dead Men Whom I Knew when They were Living"—Robert Owen, Joseph Mazzini, John Stuart Mill, Charles Sumner, and Alexandre Auguste Ledru Rollin—I do not mean more than that the accidents of my chequered life, having thrown me into contact with these men, I take their lives for the lessons such lives give, without either pretending to maintain their several views, or to imply that all, or either of, the five are, or is, in any fashion identified with my own advanced opinions, except where such identity shall be expressly stated. Naturally, the compass of a lecture is prohibitive of any biographic detail, or of any completeness of statement of the respective teachings of the men I briefly deal with.

I.—ROBERT OWEN.

Robert Owen, the great advocate of English Socialism, was born at Newtown, a Montgomeryshire village, on the 14th May, 1771. His early life-struggles—his rapid, but sober and business-like, conquest of that wealth which the world worships so much, but to which he seems to have attached little value, except as it gave him facilities for spreading his views—are familiar enough. It is at New Lanark, in 1797, and thenceforth for twenty years, that one would wish to show Robert Owen, for if he had never done

aught outside New Lanark, he did enough there alone to win grateful recollection. Surrounding the factory workers in his employment with humanising conditions, ameliorating their position, he made the wage-winners something more than mere human machines. Recognising that it was easier to bend and mould the tendencies of the child than to break the long-acquired habit of the grown man or woman, Robert Owen set an example to all Britain by introducing infant schools in his New Lanark village. It was Robert Owen who practically demonstrated that the child's mind is a sheet of paper, varying in colour, quality, and size, but which cannot be left blank; it must be ornamented or disfigured, fact or falsehood must be written on it. It was Robert Owen who gave an example which might be followed with advantage by teetotal advocates. He made New Lanark a sober village, not so much by denouncing drink, as by providing home inducements and evening amusements which outrivaled the beer-shop or whisky store. Many an unfortunate man, returning to his overcrowded unwholesome dwelling, wearied with his toil, finds that it is foul with the breath of so many huddled together, and he consequently escapes to the glare of the gin palace or the gathering at the beerhouse to fly from the misery he finds at home. It is true that he thus aggravates the ill, but we cannot make men sober unless we purify their lives, unless the domestic hearth has its charms and enticements for them; what we want is, that the workers shall have a dwelling to go to from their work which has in it the real tokens of comfort, purity, and health of life. No four-leaved shamrock, nor magician's wand, could have even been supposed to effect so great a transformation as the persistent Humanitarianism of this earnest Robert Owen effected at New Lanark. His doctrines on the formation of character have found practical and authoritative expression more recently in the law-established reformatory schools. Instead of trampling juvenile criminals still lower into the earth, society now adopts the view which Robert Owen was the first to popularise—although not the first to enunciate—that man is better or worse according to the conditions surrounding the parent previous to the birth of the child, and those which surround the infant itself during its childhood, and accompany the boy or girl during youth. Young criminals are now sought to be made less criminal by being placed for lengthy periods under conditions which shall modify and improve their characters.

In 1817 Robert Owen—who had up to this time been regarded by fashionable society as an amiable but eccentric philanthropist, whose whims were to be pardoned on account of his wealth—startled all England by his famous declaration at the London Tavern. Impeaching the religions of the world, he aroused against him all the clergy, and frightened away most of his titled admirers. It has been the custom of late years for street-corner tub-thumpers—utterly incapable of imitating Owen's unselfish devotion to human improvement—to malign Robert Owen's name, and to cast all kinds of opprobrious epithets against his life. Undoubtedly Robert Owen furnished some cause to his foes, when he declared in his London Tavern speech that all the religions of the world were founded in error. And yet every religious man will contend that all the religions of the world save one, and that one his own, are false. It is said, too, that the doctrine that man is the creature of circumstances involves a theory of fatalism demoralising to the human character. Those who take ground against Mr. Owen overlook the fact that it is better to teach the truth, whatever that truth may be, so that the knowledge may furnish the motive for the selection of improving conditions. Nor is man a merely passive figure to be acted on; he re-acts and modifies his surroundings, improving or aggravating them and their effects. As each drop of water is to the ocean, so is each human unit to the world—part of the great whole, from which it cannot escape, and from which it cannot be eliminated. Freewill theorists delude themselves with empty words when they claim for the phenomena of volition that they are outside all law. The formula that man's character is formed for him, and not by him, does not express all the truth, but it expresses much more than is taught by those whose dogma it is that man may will, uninfluenced by events. Robert Owen has been too fiercely assailed for his views on marriage, those who are his assailants, forgetting how much the laws affecting woman's position and property, and regarding divorce, have been modified during the last fifty years. The marriage question is one hedged round with huge difficulties. In Roman Catholic countries extreme harshness forbids all divorce. In some States of the American Republic great facilities are given for determining a contract, which holds by force of law only, against the desire of each. Human passion enters too much with some into the consideration of this question, and is too utterly excluded by

others. It is chiefly as the inaugurator of the English Socialist Propaganda that Robert Owen will be remembered. No Socialist myself, I yet cannot but concede that the movement had an enormous value, if only as a protest against that terrible and inhuman competitive struggle, in which the strong were rewarded for their strength, and no mercy was shown to the weakest. I am probably too much of an individualist to judge a system fairly which seems to me to neutralise individual effort; but it is only necessary to look to the enormously beneficial results of co-operative effort in the North of England, in order to affirm that the Socialist Missionaries, with good old Robert Owen at their head, have left proud monuments of the effect of their teachings. If any early reconcilement is possible, as I believe it is, between the owners of accumulated capital and the vendors of labour, it must come by the enlightenment which efforts at co-operative manufacturing give to all those who take part in them. The war between capitalists and workers is an insane and suicidal war, aggravated because the rights of life are too often made secondary to the privileges of wealth. Robert Owen's Socialism was the utterance of one of the many efforts to give life and dignity to labour. Honour, then, his human effort, even if you deny his dogma. I first saw Robert Owen as a Sunday evening lecturer on the platform of the old John-street Institution, about 1848, and it was from the same platform, ten years later, that it became my duty, in consequence of the ill-health of Robert Cooper, to read for Mr. Owen the last speech he ever prepared for delivery at a Freethought meeting. No one, friend or foe, could come in contact with Robert Owen without being most thoroughly convinced of the old man's complete conviction of the accuracy of his views on society, and of his full certainty to the very last that those views would all be realised at no distant date. He was a good, pure, one-idead man, whose long life, from its prime to its close, was one never-ceasing struggle to soften the world's harsh conflict, and to create a new moral world for after-livers.

II.—JOSEPH MAZZINI.

GUISEPPE MAZZINI, the untiring preacher of Italian Republican unity, was born at Genoa on June 22nd, 1805; and he tells us it was in April, 1821, just after the unsuccessful Piedmontese insurrection, that he was first impressed with the idea "that we Italians could, and therefore ought to, struggle for the liberty of our country." When about twenty-two years of age Mazzini commenced his literary career by writing brief book notices for a mercantile journal at Genoa, which journal he made sufficiently political to at length bring down upon it a Government decree of suspension. Vetoed in Genoa by the Sardinian authorities, Mazzini, in a second journal, braved more openly the Tuscan Government at Leghorn; but, after about twelve months, the *Indicatore Livornese*, as the new journal was called, was also suppressed. Induced by his new political associates, Mazzini joined the Carbonari, a secret association, in which the police had usually—as is commonly the case in secret political organisations—sufficient members to betray the whole of the plans of the Society. Betrayed and arrested in 1830, Mazzini was confined for some months in the Fortress of Savona, whence he was ultimately released—the formal evidence against him failing—but was exiled, because the Government were only too sure of his Republican tendencies.

It was while a solitary prisoner in Savona that Joseph Mazzini conceived the plan of *La Giovina Italia* (Society of Young Italy). Intensely national, Mazzini believed that "regenerated Italy was destined to arise the *initiatrix* of a new life, and a new and powerful unity to all the nations of Europe." It is doubtful whether the movements of the Southern and Northern races in Europe have not a distinctness of character which must always be fatal to Mazzini's conception of the *rôle* of Italy. Mazzini rightfully asserted the unity of Italy; but Italian intellect is too poetic and too subtle to be the guide of some of the less musical, but not less thorough, politics of the Teutonic races. From

Italy Mazzini went to Lyons, and in 1831 he joined a forlorn expedition into Corsica, intending to cross thence into the Romagna, where an insurrectionary rising was planned. This expedition failing, Mazzini took up his residence at Marseilles, where he formally founded the Society of Young Italy, to create "an Italy, one, free, and powerful; independent of all foreign supremacy, and morally worthy of her great mission." The statutes declared "Young Italy is Republican and Unitarian. Republican, because theoretically every nation is destined, by the law of God and humanity, to form a free and equal community of brothers; and the Republican is the only form of government that ensures this future. Because all true sovereignty resides essentially in the nation, the sole progressive and continuous interpreter of the supreme moral law. Because, whatever be the form of privilege that constitutes the apex of the social edifice, its tendency is to spread among the other classes, and, by undermining the equality of the citizens, to endanger the liberty of the country. Because, when the sovereignty is recognised as existing, not in the whole body, but in several distinct powers, the path to usurpation is laid open, and the struggle for supremacy between these powers is inevitable; distrust and organised hostility take the place of harmony, which is society's law of life. Because the Monarchical element, being incapable of sustaining itself alone by the side of the popular element, it necessarily involves the existence of the intermediate element of an aristocracy—the source of inequality and corruption to the whole nation. Because both history and the nature of things teach us that Elective Monarchy tends to generate anarchy, and Hereditary Monarchy tends to generate despotism. Because when Monarchy is not, as in the Middle Ages, based upon the belief now extinct in right divine, it becomes too weak to be a bond of unity and authority in the State.....Young Italy is Unitarian, because without unity there is no true nation; because without unity there is no real strength.....The means," say the statutes, "by which Young Italy proposes to reach its aim are—education and insurrection, to be adopted simultaneously, and made to harmonise with each other. Education must ever be directed to teach by example, word, and pen, the necessity of insurrection. Insurrection, whenever it can be realised, must be so conducted as to render it a means of national education."

It is a little difficult, when Mazzini teaches that "insurrection, by means of guerilla bands, is the true method of warfare," to understand how guerilla warfare and educational progress can be consistent. Guerilla warfare is so nearly allied to—and so often results in—mere brigandage that the certain evil seems greater than any possible advantage; and, as a matter of fact, history has most clearly shown that these guerilla bands are more effective for mischief on the enemy than for good to the cause on behalf of which they are arrayed. Mazzini himself teaches that "Great revolutions are the work rather of principles than of bayonets, and are achieved first in the moral, and then in the material sphere." In the programme of Young Italy Joseph Mazzini, who was bitterly opposed to what he called Materialism, affirmed that "the reformation of a people rests upon no sure foundation, unless based upon agreement in religious belief." He declared that "the doctrines of Materialism disinherit man of every noble aim, and abandon him to the arbitrary rule of chance or blind force." Joseph Mazzini was, at the same time, devotedly Republican and religious. He blended his piety with his politics, and regarded Republicanism as God-ordained.

Exile, and some sorrow beyond—a sorrow which he alludes to, but does not state—had given a tone of sadness to his life. Tenacious of purpose, he was fit to be the mainspring of a secret society, but hardly so fitted to be the conductor of any open movement where his views would be subject to contradiction or criticism from his co-workers. He was grandly thorough in his Republicanism, but he dreamed it for the working men of Italy before he knew what those working men were; and although he made great efforts to educate the people, he never seems to have recognised the fact that the proclamation of a Republic to a people of whom the majority are not prepared for it, is but a small step towards real Republicanism. In Rome he was —when invested with authority—so roughly brought face to face with the bitter truth, that he says "it was put to the vote whether we should not resign our charge the day following. The population, in consequence of the long corruption of slavery, was ignorant and idle; distrustful and suspicious of all things and of all men."

The extension of the propaganda of the Young Italy became rapidly so formidable, that on the representation of the Italian Government, the French authorities, in August,

1832, ordered Mazzini to quit Marseilles, but the order was rendered inoperative by the extraordinary ability with which Mazzini eluded the police, and yet continued most actively his revolutionary work, so that, by the middle of 1833, the Society of Young Italy had become widely extended, if not powerful, through Lombardy, the Genoese territory, Tuscany, and the Roman States. Treason from some, and incaution on the part of others, giving the Government a clue as to the members of the society, many were arrested and put to death.

Mazzini could not help feeling deeply his own share, as the founder of the Association, in the deaths of his co-workers. Four years afterwards he says: "I feel myself a criminal—conscious of guilt, yet incapable of expiation. The forms of those shot at Alessandria and Chambery rose up before me like the phantoms of a crime, and its unavailing remorse. I could not recall them to life. How many mothers had I caused to weep? How many more must learn to weep should I persist in the attempt to arouse the youth of Italy to noble action, to awaken in them the yearning for a common country? And if that country were indeed an illusion, whence had I derived the right of judging for the future, and urging hundreds, thousands of men, to the sacrifice of themselves, and of all that they held most dear?"

Early in February, 1834, an abortive attempt was made to take a column of insurgents, under the command of General Ramorino, into Italy from Geneva. In this column Joseph Mazzini, although the contriver of the expedition, marched as a private soldier. Treachery on the part of the General, and inefficient means of action, caused the failure of the plan; and the defeat almost made Mazzini despair of his whole mission.

The Swiss authorities—compelled by the representations of the European Powers—seized the war stores of the Italian exiles, and menaced themselves with expulsion.

In Berne, where he then took refuge, Mazzini projected the formation of the Society of Young Europe, a combination of Young Italy with two kindred associations, called Young Poland and Young Germany. The ideal of the Association of Young Europe was the federal association of European Democracy under one sole direction; so that any nation rising in insurrection should at once find the others ready to assist it. To this organisation, later in 1834, was

added the new Society of Young Switzerland. Writing of Switzerland, Mazzini says: "Since January 1st, 1338, that little people has had neither king nor master. It presents the spectacle—unique in Europe—of a Republican flag floating for five centuries above the Alps, although surrounded by jealous and invading Monarchies, as if to be an incitement and a presage to us all. Charles V., Louis XIV., Napoleon, passed away, but that banner remained sacred and immoveable." The Constitution of the Swiss Republic was regarded by Mazzini as specially defective, in that its Diet, or Central Government, is composed of delegates from each Canton, chosen in each case by the grand *conseil* of the Canton, instead of being directly elected by the people. Mazzini also objected that in the Swiss Diet each Canton has but one vote, irrespective of size, or population, or taxation contribution; and he further objected to the *mandat impératif*, or special instruction to the delegate, as nullifying all spontaneity of thought and conscience. Mazzini justified the Association of Young Europe by affirming that "Liberty is an European right. Arbitrary power, tyranny, and inequality cannot exist in one nation without injury to others." In the middle of 1835 "Young Switzerland" had its journal, *La Jeune Suisse*, and a printing press at Bienne, in the Canton of Berne. The European Governments used considerable pressure to prevent the little Swiss Republic from being continued as the centre for this Republican work, and ultimately a *conclusum* of the Swiss Diet, in 1836, condemned Mazzini to perpetual exile from Switzerland.

In January, 1837, the great Italian conspirator arrived in London. This was a gloomy period in Mazzini's life; exiled, poor, doubting, and doubted, it seemed to himself almost as if his young life had been an utter failure. England gives the shelter of its land to the political exile, but it is a cold shelter if he be a poor or an unknown man; and, until Mazzini's pen had won for him a position amongst English writers, he often knew the extremest bitterness of want. Joseph Mazzini found, too, that although the English nation gave nominal protection to his person, the English Government nevertheless was guilty of the baseness of opening his correspondence, and communicating the contents to foreign powers. That Austria utilised the information communicated to her by Lord Aberdeen's Government, which had tampered with letters addressed to Mazzini by

the unfortunate Brothers Bandiera, is now a matter of history. Writing eighteen years later, Mazzini said: "The secret of correspondence is violated in the English Post Office at the present day, precisely as it was in 1844, though perhaps somewhat more rarely." It is certain that in the Irish Post Office letters have been opened by authority during the last few years; and it is also certain that secret police reports have, within the last five years, been furnished in writing by the London Detective Department to the Paris Police. Whether letters are still opened at St. Martin's-le-Grand I have no sufficient means of determining.

The political volcano of 1847-8, shook severely several of the Italian princedoms, and Joseph Mazzini returned to Italy to take part in the struggle which overturned, at any rate temporarily, more than one ducal throne.

On February 9th, 1849—the Pope having fled, and Rome being without any Government—a constituent assembly, chosen by a very large popular vote, and of which Mazzini had been elected member, proclaimed a Republic in Rome. On March 29th, Mazzini, Saffi, and Armellini, were chosen Triumvirs; and on April 25th, the French Republic disgraced itself by landing an army, under General Oudinot, at Civita Vecchia. The story of the siege of Rome, of its heroic defence by Joseph Garibaldi, of its fall at last in July, is too well known to need repeating at length, and is too grand to be pressed into one or two lines. Rome fell, and in July Mazzini was once more a fugitive from his loved Italy.

In 1857 Mazzini endeavoured to organise a general Italian insurrection, and went to Genoa himself to take his part; but although detached risings took place in various parts of Italy, the differences of opinion between the leaders, such as Mazzini, Manin, and Garibaldi, were so great, and the people were so unprepared, that another failure had to be chronicled. Mazzini opposed himself bitterly to the diplomacy of Cavour, who was then endeavouring, chiefly through Prince Jerome Napoleon, to obtain the alliance of France against Austria.

In 1858 Mazzini penned the following words on woman, worthy reproduction, alike from their great merit, and as chronicling this phase of his faith: "Love and respect woman. Seek in her, not merely a comfort, but a force, an inspiration, the redoubling of your intellectual and moral faculties. Cancel from your minds every idea of superiority over her. You have none whatever.....Long prejudice, an

inferior education, and a perennial legal inequality and injustice, have created that apparent intellectual inferiority which has been converted into an argument of continued oppression. But does not the history of oppression teach us how the oppressor ever seeks his justification and support by appealing to a fact of his own creation? The feudal castes that withheld education from the sons of the people, excluded them on the ground of that very want of education from the rights of the citizen, from the sanctuary wherein laws are framed, and from that right of vote which is the initiation of the social mission.....Consider woman as the partner and companion, not merely of your joys and sorrows, but of your thoughts, your aspirations, your studies, and your endeavours after social amelioration. Consider her your equal in your civil and political life."

Mazzini and Mill were alike eloquent pleaders for womanhood, and each deserve woman's tribute of grateful memory.

In 1859 the brain of Mazzini and the arm of Garibaldi effectually moved the peoples of Sicily and Naples, and rousing even the lazzaroni from their lethargy, frightened away Bomba from his Neapolitan Palace. Mazzini and Garibaldi then took entirely different ground, and bitterness arose, which was never cleared away. Mazzini desired Garibaldi to hold the Two Sicilies as Republican, and to strike a blow at Rome for the unity of Italy, while Joseph Garibaldi consented to the annexation of Naples and Sicily to Piedmont, under the rule of Victor Emanuel, and returned to his island home at Caprera, satisfied that his country had advanced one step to the unity, which he, equally with Mazzini, so ardently desired.

It was shortly before this date that I first saw Joseph Mazzini, at his modest lodgings, in Onslow Terrace, Brompton, where he then lived under the name of Signor Ernesti. He was one of the few men who impress you first, and always, with the thorough truthfulness and incorruptibility of their natures. Simple in his manners, with only one luxury, his cigar, he had that fulness of faith in his cause which is so contagious, and by the sheer force of personal contact he made believers in the possibility of Italian Unity even among those who were utter strangers to his thought and hope.

In 1865 the city of Messina elected Mazzini as Deputy to the Italian Parliament; but he refused to take his seat in an Assembly where he would have had to take the oath of allegiance to Victor Emanuel. He said, "Monarchy will

never number me amongst its servants or followers. I dedicate myself wholly, and for ever, to constitute Italy one free, independent, Republican nation. I have lived, I live, and I shall die a Republican, bearing witness to my faith to the last."

When in 1870 Mazzini set foot in Sicily, the Government arrested him, and sent him to Gaeta. A general protest went out through Europe, and the imprisonment was not of long duration, but it was yet enough to weaken the already diminished vitality of the oft-disappointed conspirator for Italian Republican Unity.

On the 10th March, 1872, at Pisa, where, under an assumed English name, he had passed five months in almost complete solitude, Joseph Mazzini died; worn out in body and spirit by the forty years' never-ceasing toil for the liberty and unity of his much-loved native land. At his funeral 80,000 men and women met to testify to his truth, to mourn his death. Sentences of death and exile stood unrevoked against him while living. Italy, from that Rome which Mazzini had defended, could not enforce these penal sentences, but it was only her dead son she honoured. Living, she let his broken heart bear undiminished the sorrows of his intense struggle. Dead, a whole population witnessed that the liberty-lesson his life had taught would bear its fruits now the white-haired teacher could no longer use his pen. In seven-hilled Rome a laurel crown was placed by Italy's hand on the head which had bowed to earth in the mighty effort to teach Italia's children how to compass the freedom of their birth-land.

III.—JOHN STUART MILL.

To record the mere life of John Stuart Mill would present little of lasting interest, especially as Mr. Mill never seems to have sought to use his official knowledge of Indian affairs to govern his conduct as a practical politician, after his connection with the East India Company had been

determined. It is not so much how he lived as what he thought, not so much what he did as what he taught, that is worth remembering. Born May 20th, 1806, and dying May, 1873, he probably, during the last twenty-five years of his life, influenced, more than any other man, the various thinkers in England and America. As a political economist, a logician, a politician, a metaphysician, the exponent of Utilitarianism, and advocate of woman's rights, he stands in all phases remarkable, in some without superior. In political economy it is his merit to have popularised amongst the people a science which had been generally regarded by artisans as cold and hard, only to be used by the rich against the poor; and it is noteworthy that Mr. Mill won his popularity despite his steadfast maintenance of the Malthusian theory of the law of population.

Mr. Mill clearly distinguished between the laws of production of wealth, which are real "laws of nature," dependent on the properties of objects, and the modes of the distribution of wealth, which, subject to certain conditions, depend on the human will. In this he differed from those who pretend that the distribution of wealth is determined by economic laws, which are incapable of being temporarily defeated or modified by human effort.

As a politician, Mr. Mill affirmed that women were entitled to representation on the same terms with men. He supported Mr. Thomas Hare's scheme for obtaining a more perfect representation of minorities; and, whether or not Mr. Hare's proposal shall ever be embodied in a statutory form, Republicans should remember that thorough respect can never be shown to the decisions of the majority unless the minority are afforded a fair occasion to be heard on all important questions. It is right that the majority should decide, but only on condition that the voice of the minority has full utterance prior to the delivery of the final award. Mr. Mill opposed the ballot, and I avow that I should be pleased if voters could be true and self-reliant enough to dispense with the protection it affords.

Admitting "the irresistible claim of every man and woman to be consulted, and to be allowed a voice in the regulation of the affairs which vitally concern them," Mr. Mill desired to give a plurality of votes to "proved superiority of education," in order to secure "the superiority of weight justly due to opinions grounded on superiority of knowledge."

In his Political Economy Mr. Mill had taught that the

right of freehold proprietorship in land could only be maintained subject to the duty of cultivation; and late in life, as the President of the Land Tenure Reform Association, he propounded a scheme by which the unearned augmentation of rent was to be applied otherwise than to the private aggrandisement of the landlord. The land question in England is yet to become a battle question, serious in character, and uncertain as to its method of solution. Only one thing is certain—viz., that thousands must not be allowed to continue to grow poor and wretched, in order that a few dozen persons may become unfairly, as well as enormously, rich.

In the great American struggle Mr. Mill regarded the course of the Southerners, in all its stages, as "an aggressive enterprise of the slave-owners to extend the territory of slavery, under the combined influences of pecuniary interest, domineering temper, and the fanaticism of a class for its class privileges;" and, therefore, when the upper and middle classes in England expressed pro-Southern views, Mr. Mill arrayed himself with the artisan classes of England on the side of the North.

In philosophy, Mr. Mill affirmed that "the prevailing tendency to regard all the marked distinctions of the human character as innate, and in the main indelible, and to ignore the irresistible proofs that by far the greater part of those differences, whether between individuals, races, or sexes, are such as not only might, but naturally would, be produced by differences in circumstances, is one of the chief hindrances to the rational treatment of great social questions, and one of the greatest stumbling-blocks to human improvement." While describing himself, in the Autobiography published since his death, as one who never had a religious belief, John Stuart Mill was, unfortunately, taught that his heretical opinions "could not prudently be avowed to the world." Now, it is true, he affirms that the time appears to have come in religious matters "when it is the duty of all who, being qualified in point of knowledge, have, on mature consideration, satisfied themselves that the current opinions are not only false, but hurtful," to make their dissent known; "and," he adds, "the world would be astonished if it knew how great a proportion of its brightest ornaments—of those most distinguished even in popular estimation for wisdom and virtue—are complete sceptics in religion."

The effect of Mr. Mill's early teaching is manifested by

a reticence which pervades his writings; a reticence often liable to be utterly misunderstood. Three essays, published since his death—in which the subjects he specially refrained from discussing are treated at some length—make us more completely regret that his silence during life leaves his posthumous utterances, if not contradictory, at any rate deficient in that clearness for which his ordinary writings are so remarkable. Perhaps the most distinct declarations from Mr. Mill's pen, published during his lifetime, were: first, the one in which, in his review of Hamilton, he declared it to be profoundly immoral to teach, with Dean Mansel, that it is man's duty to worship "a being whose moral attributes are affirmed to be unknowable by us, and to be, perhaps, extremely different from those which, when we are speaking of our fellow creatures, we call by the same names." Mill says: "If, instead of the 'glad tidings' that there exists a being in whom all the excellences which the highest human mind can conceive, exist in a degree inconceivable to us, I am informed that the world is ruled by a being whose attributes are infinite, but what they are we cannot learn, nor what are the principles of his government, except that 'the highest human morality which we are capable of conceiving,' does not sanction them; convince me of it, and I will bear my fate as I may. But when I am told that I must believe this, and at the same time call this being by the names which express and affirm the highest human morality, I say in plain terms that I will not. Whatever power such a being may have over me, there is one thing which he shall not do—he shall not compel me to worship him. I will call no being good, who is not what I mean when I apply that epithet to my fellow creatures; and if such a being can sentence me to hell for not so calling him, to hell I will go." The other is in the review of Comte: "Candid persons of all creeds may be willing to admit, that if a person has an ideal object, his attachment and sense of duty towards which are able to control and discipline all his other sentiments and propensities, and prescribe to him a rule of life, that person has a religion; and though every one naturally prefers his own religion to any other, all must admit that if the object of this attachment, and of this feeling of duty, is the aggregate of our fellow-creatures, this Religion of the Infidel cannot, in honesty and conscience, be called an intrinsically bad one."

Occasionally, as in the essay on Utilitarianism, there are

passages in Mr. Mill's writings which a Christian would probably read as meaning more than Mr. Mill intended to convey; and in the two last essays of the latest volume there are several positions conflicting seriously with the ground taken in the first essay.

In 1861, when I fought the authorities at Devonport on the question of the right of meeting, Mr. John Stuart Mill, with whom I had up to that time held no communication, sent me a cheque for £25 towards the heavy costs I then incurred; and in 1868, for reasons which he has himself stated towards the close of his Autobiography, he also subscribed towards the expenses of my election struggle at Northampton.

To show how even his opponents can speak of him, I give the following extract from an official lecturer of the Christian Evidence Society, Mr. W. R. Browne, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge :—"John Stuart Mill was one of the keenest, the clearest, the most influential thinkers of his day. He was also a man much beloved by his friends (Heaven forbid that I should stint a word that can be uttered in praise of the dead!), devoted to the welfare of his fellow-men, regular and temperate in his life, honest, upright, sincere; and he was an utter unbeliever in any form of religion whatsoever. This fault, which was tolerably well known in his lifetime, is made perfectly clear and certain by the volume before us. He was all that I have described, morally and intellectually, either in consequence of, or in spite of, his rejection of all that Christians hold true and sacred. Which of these is the case? There can be no denying that, at first sight, his life makes against the party of religion. I know that it has been felt to be so by many; I have felt it to some extent myself. Can that be true which a thinker so careful and so brilliant—the greatest master, in this age at least, of the science of logic and the laws of evidence—pronounced unhesitatingly to be false?"

Mr. Mill's almost sudden death at Avignon was mourned as a national bereavement. As an able writer in the *Daily News* wrote in the obituary notice, "the full measure of his political influence will not be known until the next generation, when the younger men, who of late, at Oxford and the other seats of learning, have drunk in his doctrines, come in their turn to the front, and assume the task of shaping the nation's destinies."

IV.—CHARLES SUMNER.

ENGLISHMEN need to be reminded that slavery was a vice instituted and fostered in the American colonies by aristocratic and monarchical England. Efforts made by various colonies to check the slave trade were rebuked by the English Government. The barbarism of slavery was the enduring legacy to the West from civilised and Christian England. In the Federation of the United States the right of holding slaves was retained, amongst other State rights, by the Southern States.

As the Republic grew, two hostile elements were distinctly manifested—the one for the abolition, the other for the extension, of the slave power. In 1844 Texas was annexed to the United States by the influence of the Southern members of Congress, and the vast extent of Texan territory promised the Slave States the command of the Gulf of Mexico, and their preponderance as a political party. It was on this occasion that Charles Sumner—known theretofore as a cultivated, eloquent, and rapidly-rising Massachusetts barrister—made his first distinct stand on the side of freedom against slavery. In November, 1845, in a speech in Faneuil Hall against the admission to the Union of Texas as a Slave State, Sumner said: "God forbid that the votes and voices of the freemen of the North should help to bind anew the fetter of the slave." From thenceforward, until the day of his death, Charles Sumner never wavered in the course he had chosen.

Dealing with the matter with the reverence for law, natural to one trained as he had been, Charles Sumner challenged the slaveholders on constitutional grounds; urging that the provisions of the United States constitution, in favour of slaveholding, were merely temporary, and were framed in the expectation that the slave traffic would be abandoned at no distant period. He affirmed that the Congress could, even then, by express legislation, abolish slavery in the district of Columbia, and in any territories, that it could abolish the slave trade on the high seas between the States; and that it could refuse to admit to the Union any new State with a constitution sanctioning slavery;

further, that the people of the United States might, by regular amendment to the constitution, destroy slavery.

In 1851 Mr. Sumner, who was then forty years of age, having been born January 6th, 1811, was elected United States Senator for Massachusetts; and at first he stood at Washington almost alone in his direct pleading for abolition. In 1854, by the Kansas and Nebraska Act, a large extent of fine territory was practically thrown open for competition between free and servile labourers.

Streams of Northern men advocating free soil, and bodies of Southern men, eager to extend slave power, pressed on to the new lands. The Southerners were not, however, content to fight fairly; organised bodies of armed men entered Kansas from Missouri, and controlled the elections with bowie knife and pistol. At the first election of the Kansas Legislature, March 30th, 1855, the revolver and knife were freely used, several unoffending citizens were shot, and the abolitionists, finding themselves overpowered by force, appealed to the Government for protection. Mr. Seward presented to Congress "A Bill for the Admission of Kansas into the Union." During the debate Mr. Sumner delivered, on the 19th and 20th May, 1855, his celebrated speech, "The crime against Kansas," described by the poet Whittier as "a grand and terrible philippic." He said: "The wickedness which I now begin to expose is immeasurably aggravated by the motive which prompted it. Not in any common lust for power did this uncommon tragedy have its origin. It is the rape of a virgin territory, compelling it to the hateful embrace of slavery: and it may be clearly traced to a depraved longing for a new Slave State, the hideous offspring of such a crime, in the hope of adding to the power of slavery in the national government." With almost prophetic voice he added: "The fury of the propagandists of slavery, and the calm determination of their opponents, are now diffused from the distant territory over widespread communities, and the whole country in all its extent; marshalling hostile divisions, and foreshadowing a strife, which, unless happily averted by the triumph of freedom, will become war-fatal, fratricidal, parricidal, war—with an accumulated wickedness beyond the wickedness of any war in human annals."

The speech caused a tremendous sensation through the whole of the South. Previous to its delivery there had been many threats of personal violence against Mr. Sumner; two

days after it had been delivered Preston S. Brooks, member of the House from South Carolina, with a gold-headed gutta-percha cane in his hand, came to the seat in the Senate where Charles Sumner sat writing, and, with scarce a word of warning, struck the abolitionist orator a fearful blow, inflicting a severe wound upon the back of the head, repeating the blows until the cane was shivered to pieces, and Mr. Sumner lay bleeding and insensible on the floor of the Senate. The spirit of Southern slave-holding chivalry was well shown. Richmond and Charleston journals praised Brooks for his dastardly blow. Southern clergymen preached in his favour. South Carolina re-elected him as the representative of the State. Southern ladies bought for him a new cane, in lieu of the one which he had destroyed in his murderous onslaught on Charles Sumner. It was nearly five years before the effects of the attack had sufficiently passed away to enable the Massachusetts Senator to plead again for freedom. Perfect recovery was impossible; the shock to the nervous system had been too severe; and Mr. Sumner never ceased to feel the effect of the cowardly attack.

While travelling in Europe to recruit his health, Mr. Sumner, on the introduction of the Duchess of Argyll, had an interview with Lord Palmerston as to the repression of slavery in Cuba, the particulars of which I will give as nearly as possible in Mr. Sumner's own words: "Prompted to it by nearly the last words John Adams used to me before he died, I reminded his Lordship that his own Circular as Foreign Secretary had, in express terms, pledged any Government, in which he was influential, to an abolition policy; and urged on him that Great Britain could, if it would, at any time put an end to slavery in the island of Cuba." "How?" asked Viscount Palmerston. "By simply enforcing the treaty between Great Britain and Spain, which absolutely prohibited all importation of slaves after a fixed date, and provided that any slaves landed in Cuba in contravention of this convention, should be declared free." I added to this that "more than seven-eighths of the slave population of Cuba were under this provision entitled to their freedom." Lord Palmerston was very courteous, but did nothing.

It was in June, 1860, he spoke of "that better day, near at hand, when freedom shall be restored everywhere under the national government; when the national flag, wherever

it floats, on sea or on land, within the national jurisdiction, will not cover a single slave; and when the declaration of independence, now reviled in the name of slavery, will once again be reverenced as the American Magna Charta of human rights. Nor is this all. Such an act will be the first stage in those triumphs by which the Republic—lifted in character so as to become an example to mankind—will enter at last upon its noble prerogative of teaching the nations how to live." The story of the election of Abraham Lincoln, the huge war convulsion, the emancipation proclamation, the amendments to the constitution giving the coloured man political equality—this cannot be told here in fitting words.

Sumner is one of the few great warriors for a principle who have lived, not only to witness its emergence from unpopularity and obscurity, but have actually seen victory crown the apparently hopeless effort of their lives.

Charles Sumner, whom I first saw in the autumn of 1873, seemed to feel deeply the charge that he had acted unfairly to England in the matter of the claims arising out of the damage done to United States' commerce by the vessels built for the Southern Confederacy by Messrs. Laird. He said: "I distinguish between the English people, whom I have always regarded with the utmost friendliness, and the English Government. But put yourself in my place. Suppose civil war between Ireland and England; suppose a Member of Congress to build war steamers at Portland under orders from those whom you called the Irish Rebels; suppose the Government at Washington, duly warned, taking no real steps to stop the vessels; suppose these vessels coming direct from the American port—and without ever entering an Irish port at all—being fitted with munitions of war, and burning and destroying your merchant vessels; suppose the builder to sit in Congress, not only without censure, but receiving there constant friendly greeting, and to be treated as a friend by members of the Cabinet—what would be your feelings, Mr. Bradlaugh, as an Englishman, against the America which permitted such a wrong?"

Charles Sumner died on March 11th, 1874; all America felt his loss, and Massachusetts mourned for him as though her dearest son had been taken. At his grave Curtis and Schurz vied with each other in laudations on his life. Amongst those who delivered funeral orations over Sumner

was Robert B. Elliott, Senator for South Carolina, who said: "I am a negro, one of the victim race;" and from this oration I take the following: "Fellow citizens, the life of Charles Sumner needs no interpreter. It is an open, illumined page. The ends he aimed at were always high; the means he used were always direct. Neither deception nor indirection, neither concealment nor disguise of any kind or degree, had place in his nature or his methods. By open means he sought open ends. He walked in the sunlight, and wrote his heart's inmost purpose on his forehead. His activity and capacity of intellectual labour were almost unequalled. Confined somewhat by the overshadowing nature of the anti-slavery cause in the range of his topics, he multiplied his blows, and re-doubled the energy of his assaults upon that great enemy of his country's peace. Here his vigour knew no bounds. He laid all ages and lands under contribution. Scholarship in all its walks—history, art, literature, science—all these he made his aids and servitors. But who does not see that *these* are not his glory? He was a scholar amongst scholars; an orator of consummate power; a statesman familiar with the structure of governments and the social forces of the world. But he was greater and better than one or all of these; he was a man of absolute moral rectitude of purpose and of life. His personal purity was perfect, and unquestioned everywhere. He carried morals into politics. And this is the greatness of Charles Sumner: that by the power of his moral enthusiasm, he rescued the nation from its shameful subservience to the demands of material and commercial interests, and guided it up to the high plane of justice and right. Above his other great qualities towers that moral greatness to which scholarship, oratory, and statesmanship are but secondary and insignificant. He was just, because he loved justice; he was right, because he loved right. Let this be his record and epitaph."

V.—LEDRU ROLLIN.

ALEXANDRE AUGUSTE LEDRU ROLLIN was born February 2nd, 1808, when Napoleon I. was in the height of his power. Louis Philippe—after whose flight Ledru Rollin sought from the popular suffrage the post of chief magistrate—was then thirty-five years of age. Louis Philippe at that time an exile, afterwards to be King, and then an exile once more. Poor France! a line of Bourbon Kings ruling for centuries over starved peoples, and ending in a revolt of despair—an attempt for liberty, rendered impossible by bayonets, hired by England from every corner of Europe, and ending in centralised authority and military mania; a one-man rule, without heart or conscience, save such as the lust for power creates, ending in a ruined France, and a Divine-right King restored to his loving people by Uhlans and Cossacks; 1830, and the fallen successor of Louis XVIII. escorted to Cherbourg with much ceremony, Divine-right Monarchy having collapsed by its own feebleness; then, for a little more than seventeen years, Louis Philippe Citizen King. Louis Blanc says: "Charles X. était tombé, parceque son trône reposait sur un principe faux: Louis Philippe est tombé parceque son trône ne reposait sur aucun principe."

Ledru Rollin, who in 1830 became a barrister, won considerable popularity as an *avocat* by his defence of various persons charged with political offences. In 1834 we find his name amongst a muster-roll of the most brilliant names of France, as one of *les défenseurs choisis par les accusés d'Avril*, and the signature of Ledru Rollin appears to a memoir, telling, in terrible language, the horrible story of the slaughterings by Monarchical authority done in the City of Paris, under the Citizen King, on April 14th, 1834.

During the period of O'Connell's great Repeal gatherings in Ireland, Ledru Rollin, who had married an Irish lady, visited his wife's native country, and, being present at one of the monster assemblages, was cheered by the Irish

peasantry as a delegate from the Republican party in France

As Louis Philippe's power diminished, the voice of the Republican advocate made itself heard more distinctly, and his influence was felt over a larger area. At Lille, shortly prior to the end of 1847, he pictured the coming revolution, which, "like the waters of the Nile inundating the land, should sweep away the corruptions and impurities, and deposit the germs of a new and rich life." When the first of the Reform banquets was held at the Château Rouge on July 9th, 1847, Ledru Rollin refused to attend, because—although the toast of the King's health was to be omitted—he apprehended there might still be equally obnoxious toasts. On the morning of February 24th, 1848, Louis Philippe was pressed to abdicate by Emile de Girardin—always the consulting physician to dying governments; in the evening the Monarchy had ceased with the King's flight, and a Provisional Government was chosen, of which M. Alphonse de Lamartine was the nominal head, and in which Ledru Rollin became Minister of the Interior. This Government was in name Republican; but at that date no Republic was possible in France. France was not a country with innumerable municipal centres of political vitality; it was rather a huge watch, with Paris for its main-spring. Whoever controlled Paris, the army, and the telegraphs, controlled France. M. Louis Blanc, in the fourth chapter of his "Histoire de la Révolution de 1848," tells the story how the Republic was proclaimed. Unfortunately, Lamartine, in his own account of his acceptance of the conduct of the Provisional Government on February 24th, shows how easily a few active, earnest men in Paris named the Government which was for a brief space to replace that of Louis XV. The new Minister of the Interior is thus described by his fellow-Republican: "He was well suited to his mission, one entirely of revolutionary propaganda. Quick-witted and penetrating, a political energy tempered by frank and engaging manners, an ardent will, integrity, a vehement desire to assure the success of the Republic, and an oratorical talent of the first class. These were the qualities which Ledru Rollin brought to the accomplishment of his functions, and they were heightened in him by a handsome figure, an imposing stature, and an indescribable magnetism, which, when he spoke seemed to pervade each of his

gestures." Lord Normanby, an English ambassador, in his "A Year of Revolution in Paris," thought it right to libel Ledru Rollin, just as former English ambassadors had libelled the men of 1789. Unfortunately for Lord Normanby, and happily for the truth, he published his libels to the world, and there were more newspapers to criticise, and more readers to judge, in 1848 than in the period when Louis XVI. reigned.

On March 5th, by a decree of the Provisional Government, universal suffrage was declared to be the law of France. The law was right; but it should have been demanded by the nation, and voted by the national representatives; the men to whom it was freely given were, in the majority of instances, unable to properly value the right they gained unsought.

Ledru Rollin has been severely assailed on account of an official circular issued just prior to the elections, and addressed to the Commissioners, who acted as his provincial subordinates, directing them to replace the various préfets, sous préfets, and other officials, with persons avowing Republican opinions, and declaring that "all political functions ought to be allotted to men of sure and of Republican principles." Undoubtedly, both Ledru Rollin and Louis Blanc felt justified in using on behalf of Republicanism the centralised authority which had been so long used against it. As a Republican, the exercise of any pressure on the voters was unjustifiable; especially was it unjustifiable when, on April 15th, Ledru Rollin permitted his bulletin newspaper to suggest that, if the result of the elections should prove adverse to Republicanism, a second appeal to the barricades would be necessary on the part of the Parisian populace. A Republican is bound to submit to the vote of a majority, even if that vote annihilates the Republic. An appeal to force is an appeal to the past; it justifies the conduct of the strongest. When some of the regiments of the National Guards were permitted, if not encouraged, to exact from the officers they were electing a pledge, "that in the event of the new Assembly declaring against a Republic, they would march against the Assembly, and put it down," every teaching of Republicanism was outraged.

A few weeks later, Ledru Rollin, as a member of the Executive Commission, found himself obliged to submit to his colleagues, who gave authorisation to Gen. Cavaignac to

use force when the people at the barricades appealed against the decision of the Assembly hostile to the further existence of the Ateliers Nationaux. The bloody days of June were the result of this appeal, and all hope of present Republic was dead. After Ledru Rollin's retirement from the Ministry, he was for a short time *chef du Cabinet* to the Préfet of the Seine; but a strong attack was made upon him, and his popularity became seriously weakened. He was, nevertheless, elected in April, 1849, for Paris, with 129,000 votes.

On June 13th, 1849, Ledru Rollin made an earnest, but ineffectual, appeal in the Assembly against the murder of the Roman Republic by the French army under General Oudinot. The story is told by Joseph Mazzini, how clericalism in France triumphed in inducing the soldiers of one Republic, only just born, to crush the efforts of another Republic struggling into birth.

Forced to quit France, Ledru Rollin was an exile from his native country for twenty-one years. In 1857 he, then in England, was judged *par contumace* for alleged complicity in the attempt by Felice Orsini against the life of Louis Napoleon, but the charge was utterly unfounded, and was probably never even believed by the French police. The only pretence for the use of Ledru Rollin's name in the matter seems to have been that Charles Delécluze, who had established some political associations in France, was known to be in correspondence with the exile; but there was not even a shadow of complicity between Delécluze and Ledru Rollin.

It was in 1857 that I first saw Ledru Rollin, who often consulted me on points of English law during the time of his subsequent residence in St. John's Wood. On one point he was entirely in error: he judged France to be always as he left it in 1849, and was bitterly dis-illusioned when, on his return to Paris in 1870, he found a new generation had grown up with new ideas.

The life of an exile is not a very happy one; the sketch of the career of Joseph Mazzini illustrates this. Ledru Rollin, in his "Decadence de l'Angleterre," says: "Proscribed, we bore with us the sacred right of misfortune, which even amongst barbarians was regarded as a kind of public religion. How has it been respected? We have been each day submitted to insult; the English aristocracy has drawn us about on its journalistic hurdles, denouncing

us to its people as convicts escaped from the galleys, as miserable bandits, as the refuse of the sewers of Paris." Ledru Rollin endured exile for nearly twenty-one years.

In 1870, now with whitened hair, and with his heart withered by the exile chill, Ledru Rollin once more returned to his home at Fontenay aux Roses, and was in 1871 chosen by three departments as deputy to the French Assembly, where, however, he at that time declined to sit. A Republican Society in Paris, the Alliance Républicaine, nominated Ledru Rollin as its President; but the hero of 1848 does not seem to have ever regained his old power in Paris.

At his funeral an enormous mass of Parisians gathered. His career had been honest, his devotion had been sincere. While the Empire lasted he had refused it allegiance; he had been loyal to France.

THE lives of Owen, Mazzini, Mill, Sumner, and Ledru Rollin, present several features of likeness. To the whole of these men the clergy were bitterly hostile, for each of them was an apostle of at least some chapter of the gospel of progress. The Welshman, Robert Owen, who taught the communism imperfectly shadowed out by Jesus and his Apostles, was denounced, with more than ordinary fierceness, from nearly every pulpit in England, the Bishop of Exeter encouraging the cry from his place in the House of Lords. The Italian, Joseph Mazzini, the greatest modern preacher of Republicanism, was excommunicated by the Pope, head of a Church always hostile to liberty, and the Italian patriot was anathematised by almost the whole of the Roman Catholic priesthood. The Englishman, John Stuart Mill, had scarcely been lowered into the grave, at Avignon, when the weak-brained and orthodox *Church Herald* yelled out its curses against the scarce-cold form of one who will always rank amongst the chief of Europe's thinkers; when John Stuart Mill was invited by the electors of Westminster to allow himself to be their candidate for election to Parliament, the cry of "heretic" was loudly raised by all sects of Christian preachers, and a

Liberal dignitary in the Church was bitterly assailed because he cast his ballot for the great logician. The New Englander, Charles Sumner, the Abolitionist, was preached against alike from Northern and Southern pulpits; the unfeed pleading of the Massachusetts barrister, on behalf of dark-skinned humanity, was impartially scorned by the sects who pretended to kneel to a common father: and last, though hardly least, in the value of its testimony, the Frenchman, Ledru Rollin's grave—surrounded by the many thousands of men and women who came to honour his civil burial—marked once more the hostility between progress and the Church.

Robert Owen, though he himself died poor, having devoted to popular redemption the fortune he had created, yet lived to see thousands lifted at least a little from their poverty by the practical co-operative efforts which gradually, and after many trials, grew out of his Socialistic theories. The glory of the experiment in infant education, which he first pressed at New Lanark, was, before he died, claimed by the very religious teachers who had so long hindered all education, and who must in time be destroyed by the rescue of children's brains from the control of priestly manipulators. Joseph Mazzini did not die until his much-loved Rome had been proclaimed the capital of Italy, and—though generations of education in liberty and self-reliance will be required to efface the trace of the Divine Bourbon in Naples and in Sicily—yet the lone man's life was not without its fruitful harvest. John Stuart Mill, dying ere his strength was spent, had nevertheless found himself recognised as the thought-maker of his people. Charles Sumner, who had spoken for freedom when angry and brutal men pointed revolvers in his face; who had continued to speak for abolition when the whole continent of America cried out that the speaking was hopeless; who had fallen in the Capitol—at the close of a grand speech against slavery—bathed in his own blood, shed by a felon hand; Charles Sumner lived to see his speech grow into law. And even Ledru Rollin survived long enough to see the Imperial sham fade away, and to hear the very peasantry of France utter their yearning cry for the Republicanism to which he had devoted himself.

It will not be until another age that full justice will, or can, be awarded to the memories of these men. Statues and monuments are readily erected to princes pensioned

for the merit accruing from accident of birth, or fortune of marriage; memorial stones are easily found to record great wealth and huge rent-rolls. For the dead who lived for the poor, and died in poverty; for the dead who struggled for freedom, and died worn out in the effort to burst the shackles theretofore worn by others; for the dead who, living, were not known by fashion, nor honoured by wealth; for these the monuments can only be slowly raised, as a new generation inherits, without obstacle, the prizes of social advancement and political freedom, which these dead won with bleeding hearts and wearied brains.

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CROMWELL AND WASHINGTON.

I.—CROMWELL.

OLIVER CROMWELL is probably one of the mightiest amongst England's children. His memory, always fresh, has for its protection no array of statues. A modern Prince has his otherwise undiscoverable goodness prominently recorded in many cities, lest without the stone record all traces of his virtues should be lost; but we can recall Cromwell's greatness without even one marble or granite reminder of his glorious manhood. Statues are now chiefly erected by Englishmen on Utilitarian principles. We build the most monuments to those men who, but for such aids, would perhaps be least remembered.

Oliver Cromwell was born at Huntingdon on April 15th, 1599, just as the reign of Elizabeth was drawing to a close A Royalist from birth until death, Royalist by early association and family tradition, of easy fortunes and fair connections, Cromwell had no special temptation to the adoption of a course of rebellion against the Crown. When about twenty-nine years old he sat in the House of Commons for his native borough of Huntingdon. He owed his seat probably more to the family influence and old estates than to any special merit then manifested; and in this first essay at Parliamentary life Oliver Cromwell has left us very little for record, although the Parliament in which he sat was a great one, and had its stirring scenes. It was the third Parliament of Charles I. Carlyle calls it "a brave and noble Parliament.' This was the Parliament to which his Majesty sent a message, requiring it "not to cast or lay any aspersion upon any Minister of his Majesty," and which forthwith accused and impeached the great Duke of Buckingham. This was the Parliament in which Mr. Speaker Finch tried to stifle speech, and to avoid all Parliamentary remonstrance, by adjourning the House; the only Parliament, as far as I know, in which some of the members held the Speaker in the chair while they, on March 2nd, 1629, voted respectful remonstrances against tonnage, poundage, and other matters.

Denzil Holles, Sir John Eliot, William Strode, and John Selden (who were afterwards fined or imprisoned for their daring) were amongst the most prominent in thus forcibly retaining Mr. Speaker. "Let him go!" cry the King's Privy Councillors. "No," answers Holles; "God's wounds! he shall sit there until it pleases the House to rise." And in all this stir we see no sign of Oliver Cromwell.

Poor Eliot—for his part in this business fined £2,000, and to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure—will make no submission, ask no grace, and the Tower dungeon is his tomb: he comes not out of gaol alive. How many grand men die in the effort to make a country live, and these dead have not even the honour of a grateful memory from the children of those they served so well! Living a day or two too early, they were the forlorn hope, whose bodies helped to fill the ditch, that others might pass more easily to victory and glory. This third Parliament should be memorable if only that gallant Eliot sat in it. It was this Parliament which solemnly declared, in the famous Petition of Right, "That no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such-like charge, without common consent by Act of Parliament."

Parliament was soon dissolved; it had only been needed to vote "supply." Not fulfilling this need, it was extinguished, as had been its predecessors. There had already been in this yet short reign two preceding Parliaments, both brief-lived, because they would not vote money without discussing grievances; and now this third Parliament, its members having acted, as the king thinks, like "vipers," is also dismissed. Then, for eleven years, no Parliament in England, and during this space Oliver Cromwell leads apparently a gentleman farmer's life on his lands at St. Ives, near the River Ouse. He had a strong tendency to the fast-developing Puritan spirit of the times; his prominent relatives were Puritans, too; but Cromwell manifested—so far as we can judge—little, or no, inclination to meddle in rising political strife. Yet his very Puritanism counted for something in making him a rebel. Sturdy Puritanism struggled against servile Episcopalian flunkeyism. Mainwaring was made a Bishop by Charles I., and Sibthorp gained preferment in the Established Church, for preaching "that the king might take the subjects' money at his pleasure, and that no one might refuse his demand, on penalty of damnation."

No Parliament for eleven years, and yet the king wants money! and without Parliament he cannot have it. The charges of the king's Government grew more serious in each reign. The Crown lands, once extensive enough for everything, had been given and granted to favourite and favourite's flatterer; now broad acres to this pretty face; now wide baronies to this strong arm; now far-stretching slopes and fertile dales to this proud churchman; until the recipients of royal bounty were sometimes as rich as, or richer than, the kingly donor. Feudal obligations to contribute in peace and war to the maintenance of the royal state, are not, and were not, quite as accurately calculable in their realisable results as would be the proceeds of a modern property-tax. "Forced loans" and "benevolences," then a good source of income, were well enough, if collected from the Jews, whom nobody protected; but when the moneys were sought in the cities, the merchants stood resolutely on their privileges and charters, and obstinately refused to lend or give. "Tonnage and poundage"—which divine-right Charles considered a tax to be levied within his own discretion—was much denied. "Tonnage and poundage" was an imposition upon goods and merchandise exported and imported, and was first granted by Parliament about 1523 to Henry VIII., and the right thus accorded to the sovereign to levy had been renewed in each succeeding reign, until the time of Charles I., when it being proposed in the Commons to limit the right to a single year, the Lords rejected the Bill, and Charles Stuart was left without any statutory right to collect the tax.

It was in 1635 that Oliver Cromwell's cousin, John Hampden, was required to pay ship-money, and refused. According to the old practice, there were military tenures, which bound the landholders in a great part of the kingdom to furnish actual men and arms, or to pay in money their cost. So also the Cinque Ports, and other English seaports, and sometimes maritime counties had been called upon to furnish a quota of ships for the public service, and there had even been instances of similar demands on inland towns, when piracy was prevalent. Attorney-General Noy, to win favour with the king, and backed by the opinion of a corrupted and time-serving Bench of Judges, sought, under cover of ship-money, to levy taxes from the nation without the authority of Parliament. The first ship-money writ was issued to the City of London and other seaports, in October,

1634, requiring them to provide vessels and armaments to oppose the pirates at sea, and under it £35,000 was obtained from the City of London alone, though not without remonstrance or resistance on the part of the citizens. One Richard Chambers refused to pay, and being committed to gaol by the Lord Mayor of London for this non-payment, Chambers brought an action against the Lord Mayor to recover damages for the false imprisonment. His fight was gallant, but hopeless; for the twelve judges, headed by Lord Chief Justice Finch (the former Speaker), had already given their public opinion that the king might, in his sole judgment, issue such a writ as that under which the ship-money levy was made. On Chambers's trial Mr. Justice Berkely refused to allow his counsel to contest the validity of the writ, declaring "that there was a rule of law, and a rule of government, and that many things which could not be done by the first rule could be done by the other." I expect this man Berkely must have been related to the Governor Berkely, of Virginia, who, in the same reign, declared "free schools and printing to be pernicious inventions of the devil for the spread of heresy and sedition." On a portion of his property John Hampden was required to pay 20s., which he refused. The king sued and won judgment for the 20s., but lost a crown as the final result to the suit. The case was argued on behalf of Hampden by Oliver St. John, who was distantly related by marriage to our Oliver Cromwell. The 25th Edward I., "which forever abrogated all taxation without consent of Parliament," was pleaded, but without avail. Another statute called *de Tallagio non Concedendo*, was urged to like effect, but the judges had pre-determined their judgment. Last, but not least, the famous Petition of Right, "that noble legacy of a slandered Parliament," as Hallam calls it, was brought forward by Hampden's counsel. All to no purpose! Seven judges upheld the ship-money levy against five dissenting. The majority laid down the damnable doctrine that King Charles had absolute power "to command his subjects, their persons and goods, and I say their money too." These were the words of Lord Chief Justice Finch, and he found six judges servile enough to re-echo the slavish formula. Five judges dissented, but only two of them, Justices Croke and Hutton, had the courage to squarely deny the alleged prerogative of the Crown, and to declare ship-money unlawful. Unhappily for them, their names stood already committed in

writing to the extra-judicial opinion, concocted by Finch, affirming the king's right to issue the writ, and make the levy. It is said that Justice Croke would have given judgment for the king, the justice being in fear of losing his appointment, but that he was kept on the right side by his wife, "who implored him not to sacrifice his conscience for fear of any danger or prejudice to his family, being content to suffer any misery with him, rather than to be an occasion for him to violate his principles."

Hopeless of obtaining justice from the English Law Courts, and not yet driven by despair to the last desperate appeal to force, many of the Puritan leaders looked across to the New England settlements as a haven of refuge. It is said by Hallam that, "Men of a higher rank than the first colonists are now become hopeless alike of the civil and religious liberties of England; men of capacious and commanding minds, formed to be the legislators and generals of an infant Republic; the wise and cautious Lord Say, the acknowledged chief of the Independent sect; the brave, the open, and enthusiastic Lord Brook; Sir Arthur Hazelrig; Hampden, ashamed of a country for whose rights he had fought alone; Cromwell, panting with energies that he could neither control nor explain, and whose unconquerable fire was still wrapped in smoke to every eye but that of his kinsman Hampden: were preparing to embark for America, when Laud, for his own and his master's curse, procured an order of council to stop their departure." They were to be driven to bay, all loopholes being stopped, all escape being prevented. They turned, and at last the hunted became the hunters.

The litigation with Hampden, from the first assessment to the final judgment, had lasted more than three years; and ship-money was paid less willingly after the judgment, than even while the suit against John Hampden was yet undecided. Passive resistance, when it takes the shape of a general "We won't pay," is very effective. The king needed money; for effectual collection of money he must have a Parliament. London would lend money if a Parliament were summoned, none without; and at last, on the 13th of April, 1640, King Charles's fourth Parliament was assembled, and in this our Oliver Cromwell sat as Member for Cambridge. The duration of this Parliament was of the briefest; it is known as the "Short Parliament," for—not providing money for the king with sufficient rapidity, and

providing protest against the Hampden judgment, and criticism against Strafford much too freely—it was dismissed "in a huff, on the 5th of May, after a session of three weeks." Charles I. resolved to get his money without the aid of Parliament, but could not. Ship-money was enforced with greater rigour than before, and brought less profit. Sheriffs who would not levy the tax were fined and imprisoned, but even these fines were not always paid. Loans were asked for, and citizens preferred committal to prison to lending to the king. Merchants' bullion was seized in the mint, and debased coin issued. But all these expedients failed. The king still needed money; London would lend £200,000, but only on condition that a Parliament should be summoned; and, accordingly, on the 3rd of November, 1640, there assembled at Westminster the most notable of all the Parliaments that St. Stephen's has ever known, the "Long Parliament." Instead of being dissolved by the king, it ultimately resolved the king's dissolution. It created a Frankenstein monster in its army, which, at last, under Colonel Pride, weeded out its strength with an array of pikes for weed-hooks. It was driven away by angry Oliver Cromwell, but claimed not to be dissolved, and as "the Rump" Parliament it appeared once more to act as usher-in for the restoration of the pious and virtuous Charles II. In this fifth Parliament, Oliver Cromwell again sits as Member for Cambridge, and now gets notice from friend and foe. The friendly words have struggled through the Restoration period with much difficulty; the hostile comments are thick and strong. Thomas Carlyle quotes from Philip Warwick, doubly returned, to sit for Romney and Radnor, but who preferred the latter borough: "I came into the House one morning, and perceived a gentleman speaking, whom I knew not, very ordinarily apparelled, for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill-country tailor; his linen was plain, and not very clean, and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar. His hat was without a hat-band. His stature was of a good size; *his sword stuck close to his side;* his countenance swollen and reddish, his voice sharp and untuneable, and his eloquence full of fervour." The trait of Cromwell here, which marks the man, is in the seven words, "his sword stuck close to his side." The sceptre of Cromwell was his sword: his sword was his tongue, his pen. Cromwell's will, and Cromwell's

sword were alike of a metal which bent little and cut through everything. Lord Clarendon would make out that our Oliver Cromwell, as a young Member, was a blusterer, whose "carriage" was "tempestuous," and "behaviour" "insolent:" and this, even in private committee, where Clarendon alleges that Cromwell replied to Lord Mandevil "with much indecency and rudeness," and in "contrary and offensive" language. It is so easy for a plain man to be rude and indecent to a lord. Our English lords are not to be mauled with rough hands, or pelted with rough words. We have a bankrupt Duke of Newcastle and a bankrupt George Odger. No well-trained mind would think of using the same harsh phrases to the well-housed Duke of Newcastle, in his Clumber Castle palace, that might be fittingly applied to the needy Radical shoemaker, in his poor Bloomsbury home. It is "contrary and offensive" language, even now, to suggest that princes, who live on the country, owe service to it; and I am prepared to admit that Oliver Cromwell, in Parliamentary debate, might have been "contrary," "offensive," "indecent," and "rude," but blusterer he was most surely none. Bluster is the wind-bag weapon of the weak man; the warrior who wears and handles a mace never fights with an air-bladder as his arm of offence. Cowards bluster—those who from the rear shout "Forward," and from a safe distance, and in a crowd, cry "Down with him." But a man like Cromwell, a real man, whose "sword was stuck close to his side," who rode at the head of his troop; who, when the forlorn hope was repulsed, and he was general, went himself "at push of pike" into the breach; he was no blusterer.

The Long Parliament began its work well. It declared ship-money illegal; it annulled the judgment against Hampden; it declared that no tax could be levied on exports or imports, save by common consent in Parliament; it made Parliaments triennial; it abolished the Star Chamber, the Court of High Commission, and several other arbitrary and irregular tribunals; it denied the king's right of impressment for military service; it voted that bishops should not sit in the House of Lords; it impeached and brought Strafford to the block, Charles being cowardly enough to sacrifice his minister as a scapegoat; and on the very day that Strafford's death-warrant was signed, it enacted that this Parliament should not be dissolved without its own consent. To get money, the king assented to this Bill, which in the

end proved his death-warrant too. There was some talk even of a Puritan Ministry, with the Earl of Bedford as chief, and Pym, Hampden, and Holles in the Cabinet; but this talk ended in worse than nothing; it only irritated the men, and widened the breach. These Puritans wanted Parliamentary Government; Charles Stuart wanted to be despot, riding England with Parliament as his riding whip. At last, on the 4th of January, 1641, Charles I. determines to stop the daring of Parliament by a blow which shall terrify the most audacious. Pym, Hazelrig, Holles, Strode, and Hampden have been over-daring in their speech, and these the king will punish. So to the House of Commons with a strong armed force enters the king—the Earl of Roxburgh holding open the doors of the House—to seize with his own hands the famous five. But they are no longer in the House. A friendly word of warning had gone before to notify the coming of his angry majesty, and Hampden and the four others are safely within the City walls, where, indeed, all Parliament goes for protection next day, to "consider and advise how to right the House in point of privilege, broken by the king's coming yesterday with a force to take Members of our House." The Parliament, threatened with the sword, takes up the sword to protect itself, and yet with a show of profound reverence for royal authority. It asks the king for permission to raise a militia; it raises the militia without consent, when the request is denied. It vests the command of the militia in persons to be appointed by Parliament, and it prays for the custody of the Tower and other strong places. Its prayer refused, it takes all it can, backing its respectful request with pike, broadsword, and battering ram. And now Oliver Cromwell comes to the front! It is time. He offers to lend £300 to aid the Parliament in reducing the Irish rebellion; he sends down arms to Cambridge; he commences to organise troop 67; he seizes the magazine at Cambridge Castle; and he has prevented the king from getting the University plate, value some £20,000. The king, unhindered by the Parliament, as yet too reverent to touch his sacred majesty's person—has fled from Whitehall to York, on the way gathering an army round him. The queen and the crown jewels have been sent away, to negotiate foreign aid and to raise money abroad.

There is now civil war, not as of old, between rival pretendants for the throne, but of the army of the king and Parlia-

nent, against the army of the king. High treason, and yet not enough of Republican spirit to shape the treason into war against monarchy. A strange civil war, in which there are many Parliament men who do not hope to win, many who do not desire to win, and many who do not deserve to win. Captain Cromwell grows daily in his strength, and is soon first in the Cambridge county, and then the eastern counties are associated for common defence, and Cromwell gradually takes the lead; no bigger, braver, or wiser captain being there to stand in front. When there is some defeat, and much terror, Cromwell is firm and unreceding. When lawless troops, in the name of Parliament, do as much wrong to friends as to foes, Cromwell is a stern and strict captain. When cold friends will not find food, forage, and pay for the "God-fearing" "Ironsides," Cromwell's sword pens the requisition which knows no evasion, and must be fully complied with. Cromwell seems daily to grow conscious of his augmenting power, and to play cautiously for more authority: and yet I stand with Cromwell. To re-quote the words attributed to Lord Chatham: "There was ambition, there was sedition, there was violence, but no man shall persuade me that it was not the cause of liberty on the one side, and of tyranny on the other." Lieutenant-Colonel Cromwell is busying himself in fortifying the town of Cambridge against Prince Rupert, in levying "freewill contributions" for the good cause, and in seizing "malignants'" horses; busying himself, too, in riding hard and striking hard, as the need arises, until the Colonel Cromwell is chief of the seven associated counties, with a large force of well-ordered men; "not a man swears but he pays his twelvepence; no plundering, no drinking, disorder, or impiety allowed." Lord Essex, the Lieutenant-General, grows less, and Colonel Cromwell grows greater, until the big fight comes at Winceby, where, "within half-pistol shot, his horse was killed under him at the first charge, and fell down upon him, and, as he rose up, he was knocked down again by the gentleman who charged him.....but afterwards he recovered a poor horse in a soldier's hands, and bravely mounted himself again," and rides to victory.

Puritan Cromwell is now Governor of Ely; the Cathedral Service does not please him, and so he writes to the Reverend Mr. Hitch, "Lest the soldiers should in any tumultuous or disorderly way attempt the reformation of the Cathedral Church, I require you to forbear altogether your

choir-service." Cromwell's will is to be law to Mr. Hitch, even in the regulation of the Ely Cathedral Choristers. The Reverend Mr. Hitch disregarding, next Sunday in walks Oliver Cromwell, his hat on his head, a force at his back, and with a "Leave off your fooling, and come down, Sir," he dismisses poor Mr. Hitch from his pulpit, just as a few years later he dismisses Speaker Lenthall from the House of Commons. The Lieutenant-General Cromwell, early in 1644, finds time to appear in Parliament to complain of my Lord Willoughby, a Parliament General, but one not too well-inclined to see the Parliament over-much-succeeding against the king, and who has "strangely dissolute people about him." And a little later, to Major-General Crawford, the Lieutenant-General Cromwell delivers a sharp reprimand, because Crawford has discountenanced an "anabaptist" Lieutenant-Colonel: "Sir, the State, in choosing men to serve it, takes no notice of their opinions; if they be willing faithfully to serve it, that satisfies. I advised you formerly to bear with men of different minds from yourself.....Take heed of being too sharp, or too easily sharpened by others, against those to whom you can object little, but that they square not with you in every opinion concerning matters of religion." And still a little later—with the extra glory of Marston fight giving further force to his authority—Oliver Cromwell rebukes the Ely Committee for having released some prisoners who had been arrested by some of Cromwell's officers, and forthwith has the released men re-arrested by the warrant of his (Cromwell's) will. The newer soldiers, especially those with strong convictions on religious matter, all inclined to Cromwell. "The man," Baillie says, "is a very wise and active head, universally well-beloved, as religious and stout, being a known Independent, and most of the soldiers who love new ways, put themselves under his command."

After the second battle of Newbury, on October 27th, 1644, there was strife between Oliver Cromwell and his superior officer, the Earl of Manchester. The latter, it was alleged, "does not want to press the king too hard, will not pursue after a victory, does not even wish to fight;" and in December we find Cromwell in Parliament declaring that "it is now a time to speak, or forever to hold the tongue," and urging in effect that these Earls of Essex and Manchester are poor shiftless things, with which it will be indeed difficult to save a nation from ruin. While on the

other side it is contended that the firebrand Cromwell has openly avowed that "there never would be a good time in England until we had done with Lords;" and still worse, that "if he met the king in battle, he would fire his pistol at the king as at another." The Scots Commissioners, fearful of Cromwell's growing influence and bold speech, want to learn "whether there be not ground to prosecute Cromwell as an incendiary;" but Cromwell has already too many "Ironsides" to make such a prosecution desirable. And now Lords Essex and Manchester are got out of the army with soft words and flattering distinctions. Sir Thomas Fairfax is Lord-General, and Cromwell is scarcely second.

The self-denying ordinance—which took from all Members of both Houses of Parliament their commands in the army and their civil employments—would, if it had been strictly carried out, have deprived Cromwell of his military position; but Prince Rupert is to be attacked, and who shall be relied on to do it save Oliver Cromwell? Accordingly, "forty days' leave" for his continuance in command being granted, he routs convoys, captures strong houses, and goes on so victoriously, that the leave is renewed for "three months," and at last the "self-denying ordinance" is dispensed with, at least in this case, and the Lieutenant-General Cromwell still remains M.P. for Cambridge.

And now the attempt at any treaty at Uxbridge having failed, the king and Parliament come again to blows on the 14th of June, 1645, when Naseby fight brought Charles and Cromwell very close indeed, and the king's majesty fled. For a moment the daring Rupert seems likely to win, but his cavaliers are better thieves than soldiers, and staying to plunder after their first dashing charge, lose their vantage; and then stern Cromwell, whose "Ironsides" never plunder, drives away Prince Rupert's troopers into disastrous defeat.

Through 1645 and 1646, we find Cromwell continually fighting and growing stronger, capturing Bristol and various strong places, battering forts, and personally doing daring deeds, with a tinge of fierceness, which made his name feared, until the king surrenders to the Scots, and is by the Scottish leaders traded away to the Parliament. Now comes complication of quarrel; Parliament has not only to fight the king, but is also divided against itself; one party thinks the king low enough, the other section would push the man Charles Stuart still harder, even though he fell too low to rise again. With the latter goes the army; with the first

ranks the city. City and Parliament Presbyterians would fain disband the army, which has grown too potent through its victories, and at last has marched much too near to London. The army requires its arrears of pay, insists on its "old commanders," and begins to rank itself a power in the State. The king, high with hope, plays army against Parliament, and Scots Commissioners against both. The army appoints "agents," or "adjutators," from each regiment, and Cromwell, though he sits in Parliament, and does not openly side with the growing malcontent spirit, is evidently more inclined to count upon the sword than upon the tongue, and declares to Ludlow that "these men will never leave until the army pull them out by the ears." The army petitions, and marches nearer London, and now the Lieutenant-General Cromwell goes to Saffron Waldron to see "the army disbanded," which does not disband, but, on the contrary, and probably by Cromwell's connivance, seizes the person of the king, not altogether too unwilling to be so seized. There is some thought in Parliament to arrest Cromwell, but no opportunity. He now plainly sides with the army, and it marches still nearer London, and demands not only its arrears of pay, and redress of other grievances, but claims also "a settlement of the peace of the kingdom, and of the liberties of the subject." On the one side Presbyterian Parliament and London; on the other, the army, drawing closer to the city walls, with Oliver Cromwell its real commander, and with the king in its midst, his majesty vainly hoping that the contending parties may destroy each other, leaving him the master. Hallam says that the royalists "seem never to have comprehended that many active spirits looked to the entire subversion of the monarchy. The king, in particular, was haunted by a prejudice, natural to his obstinate and undiscerning mind, that he was necessary to the settlement of the nation." Nor was Cromwell, nor were his followers, irrevocably hostile to the king. Soon after the capture of the king by Cornet Joyce and his troopers, they declared, "we do not see how there can be any peace to this kingdom, firm or lasting, without a due provision for the rights, quiet, and immunity of his majesty." Unfortunately for himself, Charles Stuart irritated even the portion of the army well disposed to him by his utter deceitfulness.

For a little time there is compromise between the Presbyterian and Independent factions, and an effort is made to

limit the duration of the Parliament by its own vote, in which effort Oliver Cromwell is beaten by a small majority only. The king keeps a sort of prisoner's state in Hampton Court Palace, which serves as a not unpleasant gaol, until all negotiations fall through, and on the 11th of November, 1647, he absconds from Hampton Court. His Majesty's flight had been hastened by the discovery—through the interception of letters to the queen—of the worse than double part that his insincere kingship was playing. The army had been provoked at the notion that they had been tricked by the king. Fifth-monarchy men began to menace the king's person; and in the army the levelling spirit, which had threatened Parliament, turned also, for an instant, its angriness against Oliver Cromwell, who quickly, and without mercy, trampled out the mutinous spirit, the leader being shot as a warning to prevent other want of discipline.

The king is a prisoner in Carisbrooke Castle. The Scotch, who not long since delivered him into bonds, now march, or threaten to march, into England, to obtain his majesty's release. The very hope encourages Presbyterian royalism in Wales, which bursts out in royalist risings; but Cromwell burns one place, starves another, and generally terrifies the Welshmen into quiescence; even if he does not win them to the complete abandonment of the now utterly-ruined monarchy. The Scotch threatening is at last real invasion. Duke Hamilton has crossed the border with heavy forces, and is coming southward, Preston way, with a huge and straggling army stretching miles backward, like some unwieldy serpent. Cromwell, hurrying out of Wales, and over the Lancashire and Cheshire hills, throws himself on this Londonwards marching army, breaks its back, stamps on its tail, and pounds its fangs into impotence. With the rout at Preston commence the funereal ceremonies for Charles Stuart; to be delayed for a scant space, while in his turn Oliver Cromwell crosses the Scottish border in pursuit of Hamilton's broken men; but coming to an end at Whitehall on the 29th of January, 1649.

The theory of divine-right rule was exploded for ever in England on that day. The divinity which doth hedge around a king proved no barrier to the headsman's axe. There had been an effort in the Presbyterian Parliament to save the king, and, in December, a majority of 129 against 83 had voted that "his majesty's concessions in the treaty of Newport are a ground of settlement." On the second day

after this vote, on the 6th of December, 1648, Colonel Pride's regiment of foot paraded under arms in Westminster Hall, and Colonel Rich's regiment of horse stood in the Palace Yard outside. Pride's purge is applied to the House of Commons. Those who are against the army, may not go in, but must get them gone. The sword is stronger than the law. Lieutenant-General Cromwell has hurried up to town: the minority has become majority, and Charles Stuart is "convicted, attainted, and condemned of high treason." Here it is not fair matter to discuss regicide at any length; killing kings is poor work and useless work. Republics are not created by carving off the head of a monarch; they can only grow gradually in the development of peoples into a grandeur of stature higher than tinsel kingcraft knows. Regicide is weak work, for it is mostly the vengeance of an indignant people, for a wrong which was only possible while that people participated or acquiesced in the perpetuation of the wrong. I am against beheading kings, as a matter of policy; it is only chipping off an unimportant morsel of the monarchy; but I am still more against killing kings, as a matter of principle, for I object entirely to capital punishment. Punishment can only be lawful—that is, moral; that is, useful—when it has for its end and aim the prevention of the recurrence of crime, not only in the criminal, but also in the society to which the individual culprit belongs. Punishment which is only vengeance for past offence is itself crime, and it brutalises those by whom, and amongst whom, the vengeance is carried out. I am against killing kings, for I am against the right of society to take human life; but while capital punishment obtains in any country, I know no reason that the headsman's axe should be blunted and turned from a king's neck. The law should see no distinction of person in any citizen, unless, indeed, it tempers itself with tenderness to the poor-born, the weak, the starved, and the ignorant. I do not understand the cant of warped humanity, which sheds a tear for the royal martyr, and has, nevertheless, dry eyes for the scores of thousands, whom the royal murderer pushed to death and ruin by his crime, his folly, or his impotence.

On the 19th of May, 1649, it is solemnly declared that England is "A commonwealth or free state, and shall from henceforth be governed as a commonwealth and free state, by the supreme authority of this nation, the representatives of the people in Parliament, and by such as they shall

appoint and constitute officers and ministers under them for the good of the people, and without any king or House of Lords." Alas! paper decrees do not make commonwealths, and England as yet is hardly full enough of men to continue a government "without any king." An uncrowned king has already commenced to reign by the force of his own grand will. Charles Stuart is indeed dead, but there is not even the hope or shadow of a possible Republic in England. The one-man rule is more potent than ever; but it is now the rule of a real, resolute man, not that of a mere irresolute royally-born puppet; an Oliver Cromwell wields power, not a Charles Stuart. The uncrowned king governs with a steel sceptre, but he governs for England; Charles Stuart misgoverned for the king. Oliver Cromwell is tyrant, not Republican; but his heart is, despite the lust of power, a patriot's heart, and he uses a giant's might to build his country's glory and its strength. He knows no mercy, no toleration, for episcopal royalism, or mass-saying adherents to the monarchy. He is law and judge, and his verdict is fiercely severe.

Poor Ireland was for, and was against, Charles I., and now is nearly all in arms for Charles II. And so in Ireland, the Lord General Cromwell acts with a Puritan mercilessness of judgment against these misguided Papists. The Irish page is a bloody one—"One could pity this poor Irish people; their case is pitiable enough." But Cromwell does not torture the captive, nor strike the fallen. To the foe in arms, and counting high his strength, fierce fight, no truce, no peace, no mercy. To the foe on his knees, abandoning his arms, all manner of protection and fairness, save one—no shadow of toleration for Rome. The freedom of worship, claimed and taken for Independents, was denied to Romanists. "I shall not where I have the power, and the Lord is pleased to bless me, suffer the exercise of the mass where I can take notice of it. No, nor in any way suffer you that are Papists, where I can find you seducing the people." When the Lord General Cromwell landed, nearly all Ireland was united against the Commonwealth, and had declared for the young Charles II. Two cities alone, Dublin and Derry, and they besieged, still held for the Parliament. In less than twelve months Oliver Cromwell had burned and trampled out all resistance, and, save the city of Waterford, had captured in turn every strong place. No plundering, no murder, no violence permitted;

but when the fight comes, and Tredah summoned will not cede, Cromwell himself has to lead the fresh assault: then no mercy, no pity, all the garrison are put to sword. And more than one Tredah in this twelvemonths' history!

"A train of favouring events, more than any deep-laid policy," says Hallam, "had now brought sovereignty within the reach of Cromwell. His first schemes of ambition may probably have extended no farther than a title and an estate, with a great civil and military command in the king's name. Power had fallen into his hands because they alone were fit to wield it; he was taught by every succeeding events his own undeniable superiority over his contemporaries in martial renown, in civil prudence, in decision of character, and in the public esteem which naturally attached to these qualities." And this from Hallam, hostile, it must not be forgotten, to our Cromwell. The wine of power is an intoxicating draught. The taste grows with the drinking. It is easy now to condemn Cromwell for taking power, but who is there who—having dared to lift the glass to his lips when each drop was bitter—would have the courage to turn away the goblet when the hour of triumph came, and the whole contents seemed sweet and pleasant, and the world, with loud shouts, acclaimed the drinking? It requires a hero's might to leave the won prize ungrasped, and this Cromwell was only a man. A grand man, it is true, as men are measured in these peddling days.

Hardly is Ireland roughly smitten into sullen peace before Scotland again calls for similar chastening. Charles II. has there become a covenanted king; has signed a public declaration acknowledging his late father's sins, and his own errors, which he filially puts to the account of evil training. On the 26th of June, 1650, "Oliver Cromwell, Esq., is made Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of all the forces raised, or to be raised, by authority of Parliament, within the Commonwealth of England," and in a few more days is on the march to Scotland, where he has to match himself against cool and cautious General David Lesley, who is too strongly intrenched to be attacked safely on his own ground, and who will not leave his chosen lines. Here for nearly two months, with a little poor skirmishing, until Oliver Cromwell and his men get short of supplies, and David Lesley is much worried for his over-caution by kirk committees and royalist civil commissaries, and battle is given at Dunbar; and on the 3rd of September, 1650, "the Scotch

army is shivered to utter ruin." The day before the battle the Scotch were sure of victory, and Cromwell deemed defeat possible. The fight at Dunbar was not his choice, "we were necessitated," he writes Ireton. The day after the battle his view has changed; he now writes, "the kirk has done their do," and so they had. There is yet more fighting to be done, but it all goes one way. At last, as a desperate effort, the Royalist Scots march southward, carrying with them their young king, and Cromwell hurries after. Through Lancashire, past Shrewsbury to Worcester, where some rest is taken, goes Charles II. Through Northumberland and Yorkshire, and by way of Nottingham, comes Cromwell; and on the 3rd of September, 1651, a year to a day from Dunbar fight, comes the battle of Worcester, where too there is another utter rout, and the young king is a fugitive, without the shadow of an army.

Ten weeks after the battle of Worcester the Long Parliament voted that it would cease to exist on the 3rd of November, 1654. "But why," asks the army, "should there be still three years delay?" And then there are difficulties about the new representation, and on these the army officers and the Parliament are by no means agreed. The army desires to shut out the possibility of a Presbyterian majority, and the Parliament hopes to prevent any other. It is thought by many officers that the Rump Presbyterian Parliament desires to keep its power, and continue its existence. These difficulties grow into dangers, until on the 20th of April, 1653, the Lord-General Cromwell, in plain black, but with a company of musketeers close at hand, goes into the House, and sits him down for about a quarter of an hour, and then, with an "I will put an end to your prating," calls in the musketeers, and dissolves the Parliament by the sole warrant of his will. After a brief two months, by the same warrant of his will, and by no other law, Oliver Cromwell issues his summonses for a National Council, to which come 138, selected by him as members for various counties. This Council, called by some the Little Parliament, by others the Barebones Parliament, is greeted on the 4th of July, 1653, by Oliver Cromwell, in a speech wherein he declares that in the "Act for a Representative," brought forward in the Parliament he had just dissolved, "plainly the intention was, not to give the people a right of choice," but "was only to recruit the House, the better to perpetuate themselves," and "truly, I say, when we saw all this, having

power in our hands, we could not resolve to let such monstrous proceedings go on." This "Little Parliament" worked vigorously for five months, doing in that time some good service to the State, and then resolved, "That the sitting of this Parliament any longer, as now constituted, will not be for the good of the Commonwealth, and that, therefore, it is requisite to deliver up unto the Lord-General Cromwell the powers which we received from him."

On the 16th of December, 1653, "a council of officers, and other persons interested in the nation," nominated Oliver Cromwell Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland. "Through a gross and glaring evidence," says Hallam, "of the omnipotence of the army, the instrument under which he took his title accorded to him no unnecessary executive authority. The sovereignty still resided in the Parliament, he had no negative voice in their laws."

On the 4th of September, 1654, was assembled the first Protectorate Parliament duly elected by the nation. This Parliament wants to discuss too freely; for it discusses the very right and authority of the Protector himself; but only for a week, for on the 12th of September the Parliament House is locked up and guarded with soldiers, and the Members are all invited to attend his Highness in the Painted Chamber, and there he, Oliver Cromwell, tells the assembled Commons "that he would sooner be rolled into his grave and buried with infamy" than throw away the Government, and that, until they all acknowledge his position as Lord Protector, he says, "I have caused a stop to be put to your entrance into the Parliament House." Some submit at once, some more submit to-morrow, some—as Bradshaw, Hazelrig, Thomas Scott, Major Wildman—will not submit at all. Non-submission avails nothing; those who will not submit may have no entrance, no voice, but may get them home, or go whither they will, save into the Parliament House.

The Lord Protector's Government is certainly of the most despotic; but says one, "it makes England more formidable and considerable to all nations than it has ever been in my days." Cromwell looks to Virginia; deals sharply with Spain; refuses to sign the French treaty until some show of justice is done by the Duke of Savoy to the Protestants "of Lucerna, of Perosa, and St. Martin;" and generally marks himself as a live head for England.

There are plots against Cromwell's life, a reward is offered by Charles II. of "virtuous life and blessed memory," of £500 a year to any one who by "sword, pistol, or poison," shall kill "the base mechanic fellow, named Oliver Cromwell," and this reward is offered "on the word and faith of a Christian king." There are men too more dangerous, because more honest, who seek Cromwell's life, because they regard his power as paralysing all hope of liberty. And there is a Parliament which has so reluctantly recognised his chieftainship that it cumbers and hinders his Government by its resolutions and red-tape provisions for limiting his authority; so that on the 22nd of January, 1655, Cromwell makes it a last long speech, of which the peroration is: "I think it my duty to tell you that it is not for the profit of these nations, nor for the common and public good, for you to continue here any longer"; and Parliament is dissolved, even before the five calendar months are yet run out during which it is provided that Parliament shall not be dissolved. Cromwell construes the month to be but four weeks, and he wears a sword that would, if need be, measure a hour to have only fifty minutes.

Parliament had voted the Protectorate elective by 200 voices against 60, and although compelled by Cromwell to admit his personal might unquestioned, had resolutely debated and examined every other article of the instrument of Government, under which the Protectorate had been created. Parliament dissolved, Cromwell governs by a pure military despotism, dividing England into ten districts, presided over by Major-Generals, nominated by himself. These Major-Generals levy heavy taxes on disaffected persons, their authority being, that it is by Cromwell's will. Duties on merchandise having been levied in excess of law, by Cromwell's authority, and a Mr. George Cony, on whom the tax had been enforced, having made suit at law against the collector, Cromwell sent Cony's counsel to the Tower, while the Lord Chief Justice Rolle retired from the bench rather than give judgment against the Protector.

And yet after his fashion, and as between individuals, Cromwell dealt out a rude justice, and in all matters other than those which touched the firm maintenance of his Government, was equitable in his dealings as chief-magistrate of the land. He filled the benches with wise and able judges, and, outside the one question of his personal rule, he governed well for the country which he held in the grip

of his iron gauntlet. In all matters, even of minor appointments, he would have his way, and writes to Mr. Secretary Thurloe: "I have not the particular shining bauble for crowds to gaze at or to kneel to, but—to be short—I know how to deny petitions, and whatever I think proper for outward form, to 'refer' to any officer or office, I expect that such my compliance with custom shall be looked upon as an indication of my will and pleasure to have the thing done."

On the 17th of September, 1656, a fresh Parliament is summoned of about 400 members, and of these Cromwell, against all law, prevents nearly ninety persons from taking their seats. The men excluded have been duly elected, but some are too Republican, some few too Royalist, and Cromwell will have none of them. Under this Parliament the major-general system is abolished with Cromwell's consent, and some slight show of constitutional Government presented. At last, on the 31st of March, 1657, the House of Commons present to Cromwell their petition and advice that his Highness, the Lord Protector, may be pleased to adopt the title "king." Irate major-generals and stern Puritan officers have already remonstrated and urged upon his highness the danger of even seeming to covet any such title. And Cromwell, he will, and he will not, become king For himself, he is far stronger with the Lord Protector's staff than he would be with the king's sceptre, but then the crown, should he take it, would pass to his son by custom. So he refuses, in view of army opposition, but not too peremptorily, for he still hopes and wishes to wear the crown, if it may be done without too much war with his old Ironside following. In discussing whether or not he shall take the title, he uses no grand thought of right or plea of duty; it is a shambling, hesitating, argument, with none of the thoroughness of Cromwell in it. "I suppose it will have to stand on its expediency," he says, and so it does, and being judged by Cromwell to be not expedient, is at last refused. On the 8th of May his Highness says: "I cannot undertake this Government with the title of king," and so keeps the Government as Protector, with such new advantages and stipulations as Parliament sees fit to give and make; and on the 26th of June, 1657, Oliver Cromwell, now more formally recognised as Protector by the English Parliament, is solemnly installed in his Protectorship, in Westminster Hall, with grand State ceremony, and Parliament is prorogued

until January, 1658, when it meets again with two Houses as of old, Lords and Commons. But into the Commons House now the excluded Members may (by terms of the Petition and Advice) enter if they will but take the oath, and they, or at least some of them, do take the oath, and entering range themselves in sturdy opposition. For ten days there is discontented debate in Parliament, with at least the echoings of disaffection outside; and on the 4th of February, therefore, Oliver Cromwell makes his last speech to the two Houses, saying: "You have not only disjointed yourselves, but the whole nation.....it hath not only been your endeavour to pervert the army while you have been sitting, but some of you have been listing of person by commission of Charles Stuart to join with any insurrection that may be made. And what is likely to come upon this, the enemy being ready to invade us, but even present blood and confusion?.....And if this be the end of your sitting, and this be your carriage, I think it high time that an end be put to your sitting. And I do dissolve this Parliament! And let God be judge between you and me." And now for a brief seven months governs alone again Oliver Cromwell, and on the 3rd of September, 1658, dies.

Oliver Cromwell dead, the Protectorate was dead too. It had never been a Government created by the people, it was the work of one resolute man. During the storm-strife provoked by Charles Stuart's arrogant imbecility, Cromwell had taken the helm of the State ship, and had navigated her, roughly but safely, through tempest, fury, and dangerous passages. But he had allowed none other of the crew to study navigation, nor to share with him the piloting; and when the rudder slipped from his hand, palsied by death, the poor Protectorate bark drifted to wreck, because none had been trained to fill his place. Cromwell's was a one-man rule, a pure despotism. Two thousand years earlier he would have been carried into Rome on the shields of his soldiers, and saluted "Imperator." Cromwell was no Republican; but he was a grand Englishman, who pushed to the front by virtue of his sturdy thoroughness, and who did mighty service for the nation whose authority he took, whose power he wielded. One with whom he dealt roughly said of him: "One could bear a little with Oliver Cromwell, though contrary to his oath of fidelity to the Parliament, contrary to his duty to the public, contrary to the respect he owed to that venerable body from whom he received his

authority, he usurped the functions of Government. His merit was so extraordinary, that our judgments, our passions, might be blinded by it. He made his way to empire by the most illustrious actions; he had under his command an army that had made him a conqueror, and a people that had made him their general." The author of a fine history of "Democracy," recently published in Massachusetts, describes Cromwell as "hypocrite in his religion, a fanatic in his politics, and a despot in his rule." That he was "a despot in his rule," is true; that he was a "fanatic in his politics," I see no evidence. Clearly a monarchist, he trampled on the monarchy and accepted a Government without a king; was content with a Protectorate with one chamber, equally content with a Protectorate with two chambers. Having overthrown the king, would have accepted himself the kingly title, had it not been for the dangerous opposition of men who were alike fanatics in politics and religion. Whether Cromwell was, or was not, a "hypocrite in religion," is harder perhaps to decide, and I may not be the best one to express an opinion. Many great leaders have professed themselves God-sent, and even I, who would always regard such a profession as utterly untrue in fact, am not prepared to say that the utterer is necessarily a hypocrite. Hindostan gave us recently a great leader claiming to be god-sent. The Moslem, twelve centuries ago, had his Mohammed. That Cromwell was a "fanatic" in his religion is, I think, more easily proveable; and that he was, at any rate, in the last eleven years of his life "a hypocrite" in his politics, is, I think, capable of demonstration. But, despite all this, he was a man of huger stature and of mightier will than any other who lived in his age. He made the haughty Spaniard bend; forced Mazarin to be tender to Piedmontese Protestants; compelled the sturdy Dutchman to admit England's supremacy; and made his brief page of power dazzling with the glory of his grand rule. He died, and the night of his life was without starlight; his grave without honour afforded no shelter to his bones. A people whom he had overmastered became again willing servants to the dynasty he had expelled. Sole ruler of his race, his sceptre fell as his coffin was lowered. The might of his manhood had offshoot in no breast. The Captain is dead, and the wind and waves urge the helpless ship to ruin, for amongst the crew none dares take his place.

II.—WASHINGTON.

On the 22nd of February, 1732, nearly three-quarters of a century after the death of Cromwell, George Washington was born at the family homestead on Bridges Creek, on the Virginia side of the Potomac River. Washington was the offspring of a royalist family of estate and position, and his early associations with the friends and relatives of Lord Fairfax were calculated to increase his feeling of reverence for Monarchical and aristocratic traditions. When yet only nineteen years of age, George Washington was appointed Major and Adjutant-General of the Virginian Militia, and before he was twenty-two was charged with a most difficult and dangerous mission to those of the Indians and French then united in arms against the English Colonists, and also to the tribes of Indians who had not yet committed themselves to open hostilities. In this mission he exhibited much prudence, firmness, and devotion, coupled with admirable tact and self-possession.

In April, 1754, Washington fought his first battle with a small French force; and writing to his brother in the flush of the excitement, says how he "heard the bullets whistle." His first campaign ended most disastrously, his command having, after hard fighting, to surrender to a very superior force; but Washington received, nevertheless, the thanks of the House of Burgesses of Virginia for the bravery he exhibited.

In 1755 a great expedition, under General Braddock, having been organised against the Indians, Washington's talents were utilised by the English commander, who appointed Washington as a volunteer aide-de-camp, but only partially adopted the advice given by the young Virginian. The utter disregard by Braddock of part of Washington's information was attended by most fatal consequences; for the English general led his troops into an ambuscade of Indians and Frenchmen, against which he had been warned,

where the English regulars were literally cut to pieces, and Braddock himself was mortally wounded. In this sad business Washington distinguished himself alike for his courage, his modesty, and his wisdom; and when, a little later, the Colony of Virginia raised special forces to defend its boundaries against attacks from the French and Indians, Washington was, with the full assent of his countrymen, appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Colonial forces (somewhat against the wish of Governor Dinwiddie, who behaved with coldness and ungraciousness to the Virginian militia-man). The position of the young Commander-in-Chief was further embarrassed, by the fact that any officer holding a commission from the king refused to obey orders from an officer whose commission was only signed by the Governor; and we find Washington journeying to Boston in the hope to get himself and officers put upon the regular establishment, with commissions direct from King George III. It is useless now to speculate on what might have been the result on Washington's military future had his request been complied with. Luckily for the struggles for independence, his demand in this respect was refused. Theodore Parker, speaking of his severity as a military disciplinarian at this period, says: "From natural disposition, he loved the exercise of power. But he was singularly careful to defer to the civil authority when possible. If the right was doubtful, the conscientious young soldier left it to be exercised by the magistrate, not by the military arm. This is to be noted, because it is so rare for military men to abstain from tyranny." Washington's position was a very painful one; he had to defend a wide-stretching frontier against a wily and savage enemy, and this with an utterly inadequate force, badly supplied with munitions of war. He was thwarted and snubbed by Governor Dinwiddie, and nearly all his requests for necessaries in the conduct of military operations were disregarded. Washington's health entirely broke down under these varied annoyances, and he ultimately resigned his position. Having been elected to the House of Burgesses of Virginia, he took his seat in 1759, being greeted on his entry to the Legislature by the special thanks of the House for the services he had rendered. To these thanks Washington could make no reply; his talents were not those of the orator. Self-possessed in face of danger, he was unnerved amidst his friends by the praise thus publicly tendered to him.

In the House of Burgesses George Washington was not, therefore, at first a conspicuous figure, save as the soldier who had earned its thanks prior to his installation. There is, however, a storm rising through the land which shall so endanger the liberties of the citizens, and excite their wrath, that a man of Washington's stature cannot long be overlooked. The Navigation Laws enforced by England against the Colonies had entirely excluded the Colonists from trade with foreign countries; had subjected the trade between the various Colonies to heavy duties, and had either totally prohibited, or imposed prohibitory restraints on, all Colonial manufactures thought likely to interfere with the manufacturing interests of the mother country. Much discontent and dissatisfaction had been produced, especially in New England, by the operation of the Navigation Laws; and in 1760 this feeling of discontent was aggravated by an attempt made in Boston to collect, under writs of assistance, duties on foreign sugar and molasses, which had been smuggled into Massachusetts. Those writs of assistance were resisted before the law courts as unconstitutional, the question being argued so eloquently by the famous James Otis, that it is said that all his hearers went away ready to take up arms to resist the enforcement of such writs. The litigation on these writs of assistance was really the first potent step in the struggle for independence—the beginning of the great American Republic.

At the conclusion of the French war, the most active efforts were made by the British men-of-war, acting under stringent orders from the Home Government, to suppress the clandestine trade theretofore carried on with the Spanish Colonies. To this the New England men replied by resolving not to purchase British fabrics, and the home trade was in consequence much diminished.

In 1764 the ill-advised Ministry of George III. sought to levy taxes in the Colonies, and in 1765 the famous Stamp Act was passed. Washington, who had hitherto been a devoted royalist, and had shown himself submissive to all the procedures of the Home Government, now denounces "this unconstitutional method of taxation." The resistance to the Stamp Act was so great that it was repealed on the 18th of March, 1766; and Washington then writes that all "who were instrumental in procuring the repeal are entitled to the thanks of every British subject, and have mine cordially." So that in the spring of 1766 Washington not only

regarded himself as a British subject, but actually raised no objection—perhaps saw no objection—to the clause of the repealing act—so much impeached by Henry, Otis, Franklin, and the Adamses—which declared that "the king, with the consent of Parliament, had power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the Colonies and people of America, in all cases whatsoever." Those who contended for principles in America still protested against this clause, but Washington took no part in the protest. He remained quietly at Mount Vernon attending to his plantation. Year by year the attitude of the Home Government grew more menacing, and the dissatisfaction in the Colonies grew more marked. In 1767 a variety of duties were enacted for collection in the Colonies. To prepare for a possible struggle "armed negotiators," in the shape of two regiments, were sent from England to Boston to protect the Commissioners of Customs. The inhabitants of the Bay State City resolved, in towns' meeting, that the king had no right to send troops thither without the consent of the Assembly, and quarters were refused to the troops, who were thereupon billeted in the State House, in Faneuil Hall, and other public buildings. The resistance offered in Massachusetts encouraged others. Washington in 1769 writes to his friend George Mason: "At a time when our lordly masters in Great Britain will be satisfied with nothing less than the deprivation of American freedom, it seems highly necessary that something should be done to avert the stroke, and maintain the liberty which we have derived from our ancestors. But the manner of doing it, to answer the purpose effectually, is the point in question. That no man should scruple, or hesitate a moment, in defence of so valuable a blessing, is clearly my opinion; yet arms should be the last resource."

In 1769, on the proposition of Washington, the burgesses of Virginia—following the example of the northern Colonies—pledged themselves neither to import nor use any goods, merchandise, or manufactures taxed by Parliament. Washington adhered rigorously to this, and strictly enjoined his London agent not to ship him anything subject to taxation.

In 1770 Lord North became Prime Minister in England, and he abandoned all the duties levied in 1767, save one, the right to a tax on tea, which he reserved, "to maintain the Parliamentary right of taxation." "A total repeal," he said, "cannot be thought of till America is prostrate at our

feet." This tea tax, if it had been collected, would have produced not quite £300 a year. England spent £139,521,035 in the vain endeavour to enforce the tax!!

EARLY in 1773 Lord Dunmore was appointed Governor of Virginia, and despite the hostile feeling arising between the Colonists and the Government, Washington appears to have been on the most friendly and intimate terms with the Court Party, until the arrival in Virginia of the news of the monstrously mad and vindictive policy adopted by Lord North—a policy which it is now clear was actually strongly urged and enforced by George III.—by which the port of Boston was to be closed and its commerce entirely ruined. The whole of Massachusetts determined to stand by Boston, and the query now was, Would the other Colonies stand by Massachusetts? Washington offered to "raise one thousand men, and subsist them at my own expense, and march myself at their head for the relief of Boston." General Gage had encamped his infantry and artillery on Boston Common, and the cry went round the whole country to break off all intercourse with Great Britain, until the colony was restored to full enjoyment of all its rights; and further, to renounce all dealings with those on this American side, who should refuse to enter into a similar compact. On the 18th of July, 1774, a meeting was held in Fairfax County, at which a committee was appointed, with Washington as chairman, to draw up resolutions, which state first the illegal conduct of the British Government; covenant not to import or hold intercourse with England or any colony, town, or province refusing to agree to the plan adopted by the General Congress; then recommend a petition to the king, "lamenting the necessity of entering into measures that might be displeasing; declaring their attachment to his person, family, and Government, and their desire to continue in dependence upon Great Britain." The attachment to the person of "mad George" may be passed by as a phrase of fashion, and even when we remember that his family included the lustful and lying George IV., the corrupt and brutal Duke of York, the niggardly and paltry William IV., and the bestially immoral Duke of Cumberland, it must not be forgotten that the "family" was then very young, and the "attachment" was probably for the good qualities which the Royal Family might have manifested had their lives been reversed, and their vices passed for virtues.

On the 3rd of September, 1774, a General Congress of

fifty-one deputies, delegated from the various Colonies, assembled at Philadelphia (Georgia alone being unrepresented). It was from this Congress that the famous address was sent to England which won such high praise from the lips of Chatham. On his return from this Congress, the eloquent Patrick Henry was asked whom he considered the greatest amongst the men assembled there. He replied: "If you speak of eloquence, Mr. Rutledge, of South Carolina, is by far the greatest orator; but if you speak of solid information and sound judgment, Colonel Washington is unquestionably the greatest man on that floor." Even yet Washington—irritated as he and his friends had become by aristocratic misrule—had no sort of disposition to advocate any separation from the mother country. Writing to Captain Mackenzie as to Independence, he says: "I am well satisfied that no such thing is desired by any thinking man in all North America."

It is worthy notice that the struggle in England, out of which Cromwell grew into power, and that in America, which ended in the elevation of Washington to the chief magistrature, had each its inception in the denial of the right claimed by the king and his ministers to levy taxes without the consent of the taxed. It was not, says Washington, "against paying the duty of 3d. per pound on tea..... No, it is the right only that we have all along disputed." Although Washington appears to have been opposed to some of the extreme measures of resistance advocated by a strong party of the Eastern men, yet so soon as a definite course was resolved upon, he went loyally with the majority; and he wrote to his brother, "It is my full intention, if needful, to devote my life and fortune to the cause."

The crisis soon came; General Gage detached a body of regular troops to destroy some provincial military stores at Concord, Massachusetts. At Lexington Green these troops fired on the local yeomanry, and before night a large body of English troops had been literally chased into the City of Boston by the "minute men," who ran, gun in hand, from their industries, to revenge the blood recklessly shed on the road to Concord. The Massachusetts yeomen, in their indignation, blockaded the English army within the limits of Boston, and the second Philadelphia Congress shortly afterwards appointed George Washington Commander-in-Chief of the insurgent army, now assembled in front of the Bay State City. Washington—who had in no fashion sought

the appointment, and whose nomination had been unanimous—when he accepted the position, added: "But lest some unlucky event should happen unfavourable to my reputation, I declare that I do not consider myself equal to the command I am honoured with. As to pay, I beg leave to assure Congress that, as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment, at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit of it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses. These, I doubt not, they will discharge, and this is all I desire." Adams, in a letter written at the moment, praises highly the conduct of Washington, "a gentleman of one of the fairest fortunes upon the Continent, leaving his delicious retirement, his family and friends, sacrificing his ease, and hazarding all in the cause of his country. His views are noble and disinterested."

There is a tree at Cambridge—an old elm—where it is noted that Washington assumed his high command; and the first time I halted under the tree I tried hard to picture to myself the variously accoutred, roughly-dressed, badly-armed array of agriculturists which had so shut into Boston the well-drilled, well-armed, and highly-trained regular troops of the British Monarchy. The great fight at Bunker Hill—in which the gallant though unsuccessful attempt to fortify a position which would have commanded every portion of the City had shown the sturdy stuff of these New England "minute" men—had taken place prior to Washington's assumption of command. What army he found was to him very disappointing. Tired of merely watching the British forces, many of the newly-enrolled troops had returned to their farms, which sorely needed cultivation; and instead of 20,000 men supposed to be in camp, Washington only found there about 14,000 fit for service, and many of these without muskets or ammunition. The only troops presenting any appearance of drill or fair equipment were those from the small colony of Rhode Island. Theodore Parker says: "The camp was full of jealousies, rivalries, resentments, petty ambitions; men thinking much for themselves, little for their imperilled nation." Washington desired to force General Howe into general action, but, on taking stock of the gunpowder in the stores, found that the whole supply of powder would not provide nine cartridges per man.

In the American, or "Continental," army, as it was called, there were many divisions of opinion and interest. Some of the New England officers were personally indisposed to co-operate with the Virginian gentleman, whom they found much too aristocratic for their home-spun fancies. To quote the words of Washington himself: "Confusion and discord existed in every department, which in a little time must have ended either in the separation of the army, or fatal contests with one another." While Washington was organising his troops, and slowly obtaining for them the necessary military equipment, he had the constant fear that the British army might be able to take advantage of the disorganisation in the newly-raised levies he commanded. But General Gage and General Howe were content, while waiting for reinforcements, to thunder away from Bunker Hill batteries, while keeping their troops within their own works; the Americans, from want of powder, making but scant reply to the noisy cannonade.

The delay in the siege produced many embarrassments. Men who were brave enough in a fight would not patiently wait, doing nothing, in front of this fortified city, while their farms went to ruin. Enlisted for one year only, many would not re-enlist at all. Those who did manifest willingness to re-enlist would only serve under officers of their own choice; and men from one Colony, as Connecticut, would not serve under Rhode Island officers. In a letter written at this juncture Washington says: "I find we are likely to be deserted at a most critical time.....Our situation is truly alarming.....Could I have foreseen what I have experienced, and am likely to experience, no consideration upon earth should have induced me to accept this command." It must not be forgotten that the position of the men was not of the most enviable kind. "The first burst of revolutionary zeal had passed away; enthusiasm had been chilled by the inaction and monotony of a long encampment." No regular commissariat, and nearly all comforts absent. "The troops had suffered privations of every kind—want of fuel, clothing, provisions. They looked forward with dismay to the rigours of winter, and longed for their rustic homes and family firesides." Throughout the Colonies much more was expected from Washington than he was able to perform, his available force was over-rated, and his motives for inaction mis-construed. "I know," writes Washington on the 10th of February, 1776, "the unhappy predicament I stand in; I

know that much is expected from me; I know that, without men, without arms, without ammunition, without anything fit for the accommodation of a soldier, little is to be done, and, what is mortifying, I know that I cannot stand justified to the world without exposing my own weakness, and injuring the cause by declaring my wants; which I am determined not to do further than unavoidable necessity brings every man acquainted with them.....My own situation is so irksome to me at times that, if I did not consult the public good more than my own tranquillity, I should long ere this have put everything on the cast of a die. So far from my having an army of 20,000 men well armed, I have been here with less than half that number, including sick, furloughed, and on command, and those neither armed nor clothed as they should be. In short, my situation has been such that I have been obliged to use art to conceal it from my own officers.....To have the eyes of the whole Continent fixed with anxious expectation of hearing of some great event, and to be restrained in every military operation for want of the necessary means of carrying it on, is not very pleasing, especially as the means used to conceal my weakness from the enemy conceal it also from our friends."

Ultimately, as every one knows, the regular army of England evacuated Boston, beleagured by "an undisciplined band of husbandmen," and General Howe and his well-equipped legions sought safety in the warships from the persevering advances of Washington to the reduction of the Bay State City.

Convinced that "no accommodation could be effected with Great Britain, on acceptable terms," and that "a protracted war was inevitable," Washington now sought to force upon Congress the need for enlisting an army disposable for the whole war, and available in any portion of the continent. While his energetic remonstrances produced some improvements, there was still much left to be desired. The base of operations was changed from Massachusetts to New York State. Now, to a much larger degree, than when near Boston, Washington felt the effects of treachery; one plot nearly cost him his life, his very body-guards having been corrupted. Those who were the most willing agents of Monarchy and Toryism were found amongst the Quaker families, one of which, for its cowardly rascality, still receives from the British Government a pension of £4,000 a year.

On the 4th of July, 1776, Independence was declared in words; but a severe reverse, sustained by Washington on Long Island, made many persons despair of its realisation The troops he had under him in this campaign were very ill-equipped. "Many of the yeomen of the country, hastily summoned from the plough, were destitute of arms, in lieu of which they were ordered to bring with them a shovel. spade, or pickaxe, or a scythe straightened and fastened to a pole." The effect of the defeat on Long Island was shown in the wholesale return to their farms in Connecticut alone of more than 4,000 men. Despite all this, Washington always presented a firm face to the enemy, even when himself nearly heart-broken, by the disregard of his entreaties by Congress, and by the indisposition shown by the several Colonial Governments to second his exertions, and comply with his requirements.

In September, 1776, the difficulties of his position, and the defection of some of his troops, seem to have rendered Washington despeiate, and in some of the frays he risked his life needlessly. His natural calm, however, soon returned, and though evidently very doubtful as to the possibility of ultimate victory, he now recommenced those series of careful manœuvres which so embarrassed the English and German generals to whom he was opposed. General Washington had the danger of his position considerably heightened by the conduct of General Lee and General Gates. The first a brave and ambitious soldier, who aspired to the chief command, and who regarded Washington's star as on the wane, actually withheld reinforcements from Washington's crippled forces, when the latter was retreating through the Jerseys after the British successes at Fort Washington. The second (Gates) about the same time pleaded ill-health as an excuse for avoiding a command, so that he might go to Philadelphia to intrigue against Washington before the Congress.

If not entirely disregarding, at any rate in no fashion publicly noticing, the hostility of Lee and Gates, General Washington gave courage to his army, and restored the sinking spirits of the American Colonists, by a most brilliant dash at the Hessian quarters at Trenton, where, with actually inferior forces, he created an utter panic amongst the British troops. Just after the Trenton victory there is a fine illustration of the slender thread on which hung the future of American Independence. Several of the

regiments wished to return home; only enlisted for one year, their term of service had expired, their pay was in arrear, their presence was indispensable to Washington, at any rate for a short time, and by the offer of a bounty of ten dollars per man, they were induced to agree to stay for six weeks; but there was no money in the pay-chest, and the poor, penniless men could not rely on promises of future payment. Washington had to borrow £150 to enable him to pay the most pressing, and thus temporarily kept his forces together.

At the close of 1776 Washington was invested by Congress with almost dictatorial powers, and in acknowledging the resolution of Congress, he says: "I find Congress have done me the honour to entrust me with powers, in my military capacity, of the highest nature and almost unlimited extent. Instead of thinking myself freed from all civil obligations by this mark of their confidence, I shall constantly bear in mind that, as the sword was the last resort for the preservation of our liberties, so it ought to be the first thing laid aside when those liberties are firmly established." Washington was true in letter and in spirit to this promise. No enticement of ambition made him waver for one moment in his fidelity to the trust he had accepted.

Although Washington possessed nearly absolute authority, he seems to have been extremely reluctant to use it, and often permitted Congress to interfere, and to make appointments and arrangements which were neither consonant with his views nor with the dignity of his position. This is of course open to the criticism, that had Washington been less wise, it might have been very difficult for him to have held together the Eastern men, some of whom honestly seemed to entertain the notion that despite his professions Washington was really aiming at the establishment of a military rule.

The surrender of General Burgoyne, and the division under his command, to General Gates in the north; and the repulse of the army under Washington at Germantown, gave room for some of the disaffected to revive the intrigues hostile to the Commander-in-Chief. General Gates not only omitted to report to George Washington the surrender by Burgoyne, but actually corresponded secretly with dissatisfied officers in Washington's camp to induce them to cabal against their chief. The glorious achievements of Gates were compared with the disasters which attended

Washington in this campaign. It was overlooked that Gates—who was afterwards utterly ruined by his defeats in the South—was only carrying out Washington's original far-seeing plan of operations, and with a very large force at his command, aided by a generally favourable spirit in the part of the country where his military operations were conducted, while Washington had an inferior force weakened by troops he had detached to aid Gates—which troops General Gates now withheld from his Commander—and was in a lukewarm State, where many were disaffected to the American cause. Washington himself says that "General Gates was to be exalted on the ruin of my reputation and influence." The American army had great difficulty in obtaining provisions; in some places where the inhabitants had provisions and cattle, they denied them to General Washington, and preferred taking their cattle and food to Philadelphia, where the English army gave them higher prices.

In 1778 Washington writes: "For some days past there has been little less than a famine in the camp; a part of the army has been for a week without any kind of flesh, and the rest three or four days. Naked and starving as they are, we cannot enough admire the incomparable patience and fidelity of the soldiery." Philadelphia was occupied during the winter by a British army 20,000 strong, provided with every comfort; while Washington was at Valley Forge, besieging the city after a fashion, with not more than 5,000 men, in sadly wretched plight, sometimes without ammunition to serve its cannon. At last General Howe resigned the command of the British army to Sir Henry Clinton, by whom Philadelphia was evacuated, under orders from the Home Government.

Now came the effect of the treaty concluded by Franklin, between France and America, in the aid of a French squadron and French funds. This French contingent rather increased the temporary difficulties of Washington as Commander-in-Chief, although the general effect of the French alliance was to render the British prospects in the Colonies one of the gloomiest character. George III. was wicked enough, personally, to encourage the barbarous employment of Indians; and scalping, ravishing, and burning were amongst the means ineffectually resorted to by an anointed king to win back the affections of his subjects. The English Church and English landed aristocracy, by public addresses, encouraged their king in his cruel obstinacy, and the war

to subdue the Colonies was to be carried on in despite of the failures already experienced. In America the French alliance had at least one bad effect; many deemed that the war would now cease at once; that there was, therefore, no necessity for continuous supplies to the army; for long drills or great preparations. The several Colonies were unwilling to comply with military requisitions, which they thought had now become needless, and General Washington found himself exceedingly embarrassed, and his popularity endangered by his persistence in requiring the means for continuing a long, arduous, and costly struggle; and at the close of 1778 he writes: "Our affairs are in a more distressed, ruinous, and deplorable condition than they have been since the commencement of the war."

Difficulties in the internal condition of the army, and its relation to the various States, may be best illustrated by the case of the Jersey Brigade, in which, in 1779, the officers —who complained that they could get no pay, and that their families were starving—refused to march unless their arrears were first discharged. Here Washington acted with great tact as well as with great firmness; and while entirely denying the right of the officers or men to utilise their military position, he at the same time pressed Congress and the State Legislature to deal more patriotically with their defenders in the field.

For weeks at a time the army was on half allowance of food, sometimes without meat, sometimes without bread, sometimes without both. Congress being destitute of the power of levying general taxes, the State Governments were each severally charged with the duty of supporting their own quota of troops to the army. This naturally resulted in great inequality and discontent. Some States furnished their troops amply with pay and clothing; some States were niggardly in these respects; and some States were so neglectful as to leave their troops practically destitute, producing in these latter a more discontented and mutinous spirit from the contrast with their more favoured brethren.

To remedy this disastrous condition of things increased powers were sought for Washington, but any augmentation of his already large authority was strenuously objected to by some of the best men. It was urged "that his influence was already too great; that even his virtues afforded motives for alarm; that the enthusiasm of the army, joined to the

kind of dictatorship already confided to him, placed Congress and the United States at his mercy."

In the middle of 1780 matters came to a crisis. Two Connecticut regiments turned out in armed meeting, resolved to march home, "or at best to gain subsistence at the point of the bayonet." Suppressing this mutinous outbreak with considerable difficulty, Washington found it nearly impossible to get bread for his famishing soldiers, and in a spirit of deep despondency he wrote: "I have almost ceased to hope." Yet when the English commander, informed by his spies of the condition of Washington's forces, marched to attack the American troops, he found that Washington's great personal influence was enough to arouse their patriotism and unite their ranks; and instead of a discontented and disorganised rabble, the British were confronted by a compact and well-ordered, though badly-equipped, army, before whom the English forces retreated, despite the superiority on the royalist side.

In 1780 Washington seemed at the end of his resources. He writes: "I see nothing before us but accumulating distress. We have been half our time without provisions, and are likely to continue so. We have no magazines, nor money to form them; and in a little time we shall have no men, if we have no money to pay them." The Pennsylvanian troops mutinied in 1781, and compelled Congress to treat with them. Encouraged by this, a part of the Jersey troops also revolted; but Washington, here close at hand, sternly stamped out this revolt. A striking feature connected with these mutinies by the American troops against Congress is, that the mutineers nevertheless remained faithful to the American cause, and made prisoners of agents sent to them with money and promises from the English camp.

In October, 1781, the war was practically decided by the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown; and it is needless to dwell here at any length on the closing scenes of a struggle which terminated on the 20th of January, 1783, by the signature of the treaty at Paris.

The army, as in the case of the Commonwealth struggle, was now a power in the land. The pay of officers and men was in arrear; they had many grievances; the future conduct of affairs was doubtful; there was a suggestion of—if not an absolute attempt to organise—a military government. One veteran officer took upon himself to suggest to Washington

ıe title of King would be attended with some
advantages." Washington replied without hesita-
t no event in the war had given him so much pain
ır information of there being such ideas expressed
army," which "I must view with abhorrence and
ıd with severity." With the army General Wash-
had a most difficult task. Their grievances were
d to the Congress at Philadelphia he represented
ı the strongest terms. To the army itself he was
firm in forbidding any use of their military force in
of their claims against Congress.
st, on the 23rd of December, 1783, at Annapolis,
first in methodical fashion settled up his pecuniary
s—and without one farthing pay or profit or recom-
or his military services—George Washington relin-
the authority the nation had entrusted to his hands,
red to private life without a stain on his shield, unhesi-
disregarding those allurements of power which would
en irresistible to a weaker man. It is noteworthy
e total amount of Washington's account—including
: 10s. for secret service—was only £19,306 11s. 9d.,
s was from July, 1775, to December 28th, 1783. In
Washington's own private book there is an entry
: was a considerable loser from items that, "in the
ity of business," he had omitted to charge. No
was ever urged by him to have this deficiency
ıp.
785, the Assembly of Virginia, by an unanimous vote,
Washington a number of shares, value about 40,000
in two schemes connected with the navigation of
:omac and James Rivers. Washington, who had re-
not personally to accept any valuable reward, asked
tained the permission of the Virginian Legislature to
he gifts to objects of a public nature, and ultimately
ue was devoted to educational purposes.
conclusion of the struggle with the mother country
: many, discontented with the burdens and troubles of
r, a full opportunity for the expression of their dis-
:tion. The Government had little or no effective
ity now that the war was concluded, and martial law
ger prevailed. "The confederation," writes Washing-
appears to me to be little more than a shadow without
bstance, and Congress a nugatory body, their ordi-
: being little attended to." Colonel Henry Lee

having applied to George Washington to use his influence with the people, the latter thus replied from Mount Vernon: "You talk, my good Sir, of employing influence to appease the present tumults in Massachusetts. I know not where that influence is to be found, or, if attainable, that it would be a proper remedy for the disorders. Influence is not government. Let us have a government by which our lives, liberties, and properties will be secured, or let us know the worst at once. There is a call for decision. Know precisely what the insurgents aim at. If they have real grievances, redress them if possible; or acknowledge the justice of them, and your inability to do it at the moment. If they have not, employ the force of the Government against them at once. If this is inadequate, all will be convinced that the superstructure is bad and wants support.....Let the reins of Government be braced and held with a steady hand, and every violation of the constitution be reprehended. If defective, let it be amended; but not suffered to be trampled upon whilst it has an existence."

Something had to be done to bind the independent Colonies together. "A government," says Marshall, "authorised to declare war, but relying on independent States for the means of prosecuting it; capable of contracting debts, and of pledging the public faith for their payment, but depending on thirteen distinct sovereignties for the preservation of that faith, could only be rescued from ignominy and contempt by finding those sovereignties administered by men exempt from the passions incident to human nature."

On the 25th of May, 1787, a Congress assembled at Philadelphia, of which George Washington was appointed President. After several months of doubtful, and sometimes bitter, discussion and uncertainty, this Congress published the Constitution of the United States of America. Of this Constitution Washington writes to Lafayette that, while not free from defects, "the general Government is not invested with more powers than are indispensably necessary to perform the functions of a good government," and 'that these powers, as the appointment of all rulers will forever arise from, and at short stated intervals recur to, the free suffrages of the people, are so distributed among the legislative executive and judicial branches into which the general government is arranged, that it can never be in danger of degenerating into a monarchy, an oligarchy, or an aristocracy, or any other despotic or oppressive form, so

long as there shall remain any virtue in the body of the people."

Under the New Constitution the first Wednesday in January, 1789, was appointed for the election by the people of their first President, and the vote was unanimous in the choice of George Washington.

III.—THE CONTRAST.

THOUGH in many respects occupying positions of similar character, no two men could be more dissimilar than Oliver Cromwell and George Washington. The first, as is shown by his life, grew into a ruler of men by the force of his own character and by the warrior skill he manifested, and this in spite of the leading spirits of his age. The second became the chief magistrate of a newly-made nation by the force of the times, by the suffrages of men with intellects clearer, and even bolder, than his own, and because of the thorough faithfulness he had shown to the cause to which he had most disinterestedly and unselfishly devoted himself. Cromwell made his will the law for the nation, and used his sword to enforce the law. Washington accepted the will of the majority, which had entrusted him with authority, as the law which he was bound to obey. Cromwell played the army, and especially his Ironsides, against the Parliament. Washington submitted most completely to Congress, and refused to side with the dissatisfied army when it wished to rely on its weapons to enforce the redressal even of its just grievances. Neither Cromwell nor Washington were really Republicans. Cromwell, though destroying the Monarchy, never ceased to be Royalist, and took himself the throne—uncrowned, it is true, save by the trooper's helmet, in which he had fought his way to the right to wield the Protector's sceptre-staff. Washington, wrestling against a far-away and blundering Government, amidst men with more vigorous politics than he had learned, went with the stream, and became Republican *malgré lui*—that is, he accepted the form, and honestly strove to adopt the spirit from the grander brains who gave to the world the famous Declaration of Independence. Washington made a better man than Cromwell. Cromwell was a bigger man than Washington. Washington rejected the mere whisper of a crown, and indignantly condemned the suggestion, even

before it had found clear shape of utterance. Cromwell created the spirit which formally presented to him the kingly dignity for acceptance, and he weighed the glittering bauble regretfully in his hands before he put it aside as an ornament scarcely valuable enough to wear, as against the danger of weakness it brought to the wearer.

There can be few men more thoroughly true and honourable than George Washington. History tells of *no* other man that you may rank in the same line with Oliver Cromwell. Washington has many statues, for the century which has marched over his grave has freshened each year the laurel-wreath with which the giant child-Republic crowned its foster-father. Oliver Cromwell has few or no monuments. The country to which he devoted his virility has seen his bones rattle in gibbet chains, and for two hundred years has, on its knees, thanked God that hollow, tinsel, lying, lustful, Stuart was restored to rule England, in lieu of this fierce, sturdy, Puritan man, whose soul inbreathed power only because the power carried England's standard higher.

A fitting emblem for Oliver Cromwell is presented by the grandly glorious Western sunset. Still mighty in the fierceness of its rays, few eyes can look steadily into the golden radiance of that evening sun; the strongest must lower their glances, dazzled by its brilliance. Every cloud is rich with ruddy gilding, as if the mere presence of that sun made glorious the very path it trod. And yet, while one looks, the tints deepen into scarlet, crimson, purple, as though that sun had been some mailed warrior, who had gained his grand pre-eminence by force of steel, and had left a bloody track to mark his steps to power. And even while you pause to look, the thick dark veil of night falls over all, with a blackness so cold, complete and impenetrable, as to make you almost doubt the reality of the mighty magnificence which yet has scarcely ceased. In the eventide of his life's day such a sun was Cromwell. Few men might look him fairly in the face as peers in strength. His presence gives a glory to the history page which gilds the smaller men whom he led. And yet Tredah and Worcester, Preston and Dunbar, and a host of other encrimsoned clouds, compel us to remember how much the sword was used to carve his steps to rule. And then comes the night of death—so thickly black that even the grave cannot protect Cromwell's bones from the gibbet's desecration.

And not unfittingly might the sunrise, almost without twilight, in the same land, do service as emblem for George Washington He must be a bold man who, in the mists and chill of the dying night, not certain of its coming, would dare watch for the rising sun. And yet, while he watches, the silver rays, climbing over the horizon's hill, shed light and clearness round; and soon a golden warmth breathes life and health and beauty into blade and bud, giving hope of the meridian splendour soon to come. George Washington was the morning sun of a day whose noontide has not yet been marked—a day of liberty rendered more possible now that slavery's cloud no longer hides the sun; a day the enduring light of which depends alone on the honest Republicanism of those who now dwell in that land where Washington was doorkeeper in Liberty's temple.

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THE LAND, THE PEOPLE,

AND THE

COMING STRUGGLE.

BY

C. BRADLAUGH.

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THE LAND, THE PEOPLE, AND THE COMING STRUGGLE.

THE growth of the agricultural Labourers' movement in England, the increasing agitation for the repeal of the law of hypothec in Scotland, and the wail from ruined farmers in the Lowlands, all serve to show that it will be on the Land Question that that large section of the English aristocracy which regards the preservation of territorial rights and privileges as essential to good Government will shortly have to encounter a stronger force, and to cope with a wider movement, than has been manifested in England during the last 200 years It is in connexion with the Land Question that thoughtful working men are commencing to look for a speedy solution of some of the most difficult problems as to the more striking evils of modern society.

So long as skilled labour in mine or factory could easily earn the means of purchasing grain from foreign lands, men remained comparatively quiescent, while the native landholders usurped power and avoided obligations. To-day labour struggles despairingly against reduced wage, and to-morrow's outlook is still more gloomy. While wages are decreasing, the cost of living is augmenting. House rent in England and Wales alone has increased from £36,575,600 per year—which it was in 1846—to £80,726,502—which it had become in 1873—a growth of more than thirty-four millions of pounds in twenty-seven years, all paid by the poor to the rich. The annual income from land, including mines and minerals, has increased, since 1698, from a little over £6,000,000 to about £200,000,000.

The bulk of the land is in the hands of comparatively few persons, and these monopolize the House of Lords, and materially control the House of Commons. In Scotland, 171 persons own 11,029,228 acres of land, and 409 other persons own other 3,876.980 acres, that is, 580 persons own 14,906,208 acres. In England 773 persons own 8,219,468 of acres, making that, in England and Scotland, 1353 persons own more than twenty-three millions of acres.

In too many cases these landholders treat their freehold rights as of infinitely more importance than the happiness of the peasantry of the neighbourhood. Ancient footpaths are closed, common rights denied, game preserving and rabbit breeding carried on to the point of crop annihilation, county members nominated and returned as if the title to the freehold carried with it monopoly of political right; and a most contemptuous indifference is shown as to the condition of the tiller of the soil, or, what is even worse, there is a mockery of charity, to remedy in small part the evil which the very charitable gentry have themselves created.

For the last 163 years this landed aristocracy has been the real governing class, superseding the Crown, and, until 1832, entirely controlling the people.

During this time—viz., from 1714—the standing army has been built up, and the National Debt has been almost entirely created, while Imperial taxation, and the rent-rolls of the few privileged ones, have enormously increased; thus the burdens of Imperial and local taxation have been shifted from the shoulders of the landholder to those of the labourer. For since, with the accession of the Brunswick family to the English throne, the monarch, excluded even from the political councils of the nation—at first because he could not speak the language of his subjects, as in the case of George I.; then because of his indifference, as in that of George II.; and then because of his oft-recurring insanity, as in that of George III.—has been practically reduced to a mere costly show puppet, it is impossible for the student of our history not to remark how the landed aristocracy have utilized their possession of political power for the transference from their own shoulders of the bulk of the local and Imperial taxation.

Amongst the agricultural classes, pauperism has become more permanent and more widespread, and certain classes of crime and misery have more prevailed, as the land monopoly has become more complete.

The agricultural labourers of many English counties, and notably of Dorset, Wilts, Gloucester, Norfolk, Suffolk, have, from bad and insufficient food and shelter, so degenerated, that their state is a disgrace to any civilized country in the world. The *Westminster Review* urges, on the evidence of Mr. Simon, Medical Inspector, that rather more than one-half of our Southern population are so badly fed, that a class of starvation diseases, and a general deterioration of mind,

must result. In Berkshire, Oxfordshire, and Somersetshire, insufficiency of nitrogenous food is the average.

Landowners, in the large majority of instances, and this whether the proprietor be Whig or Tory, regard their tenants as bound to follow the politics of their freeholder, and as fairly liable to ejectment when malcontent.

Mr. Latham, a magistrate of Cheshire, before the House of Commons' Committee, said that "it was the evil of property that a man considers that he owns not only the property itself, but that he owns the souls of the tenants also."

The Duke of Buccleuch, not content with the influence which his vast holdings in Scotland give him, has actually followed the practice of manufacturing voters, by granting to certain persons feu rents or freehold rent-charges, to qualify them for county voters, and this to such a glaring extent as to excite popular indignation. This fabrication, however immoral, is held to be legal, although, since the grant of the rent charges, his Grace has actually sold to a railway company a considerable portion of the property charged. This Duke of Buccleuch, in his Wanlockhead mining works, in Dumfriesshire, employs a number of wretched lead miners, who sometimes do not see five pounds in actual money from year's end to year's end, being constantly in debt to the overseer's shop. They are badly paid and tyrannically dealt with.

In Wales, because at the general election in 1868 the advantage was "won by the Liberals, through the votes of the freeholders and leaseholders of cottages, the landlords," says the *Westminster Review*, "enraged at their defeat, proceeded to wreak their vengeance upon those of their tenants who had presumed to vote in accordance with their convictions." Mr. Harris, a gentleman of independent means in Cardiganshire, "believed that as many as 200 notices to quit had been served in Cardiganshire alone, at Lady Day after the election. He was himself aware of from thirty to thirty-five served upon tenant farmers, in some cases where the families had been 200 years upon the estates; in others where considerable sums had been laid out by the farmers in improving their farms, which, as the law now stands in England, they have no means of recovering."

In Ireland you have a landlord—perhaps like the late Most Noble the Marquis of Hertford—constantly residing out of the country, having no sympathy or connexion with

his property, except that of sucking it as dry of vitality as the law permits him. At election times, "his lieutenant, the agent, armed with notices to quit, and backed by the police, is sufficiently formidable. Threats of eviction (and more than half a million evictions have taken place in Ireland during the last thirty years), distresses, and demands for immediate payment of rent, large arrears of which are usually due," assail the voter. "It has long been the practice in Ireland for the landlords to collect together their tenants who are voters, to place them upon cars, and send them in a body under the agent to record their votes at the polling-booth. These parties of voters are frequently escorted by detachments of police and military, on the alleged ground that there is fear of their being prevented by violence from going to the polling place: it is observable that these escorts are always asked for by the landlords or their agents, never by the voters themselves." General MacMurdo, who commanded a brigade in Ireland at the 1868 election, admitted, before the House of Commons' Committee, in answer to Mr. Gathorne Hardy, that these voters are practically prisoners, one of whom would not be allowed to go away even if he desired, until he had been escorted to the polling-booth.

Under the feudal system in England, bad as it was, there were no seignorial rights without a declaration of corresponding duties—the vassals gave their services, and in return the lord apportioned them land, and gave them some sort of protection; but now the lord claims the land as his own freehold, without any admission of obligation accompanying the ownership, and regarding himself as unduly taxed if any fiscal imposition touches his pocket. In many cases, in order to relieve themselves from the burdens of supporting the poor, the great proprietors have ordered the wretched cottages of the labourers working on their lands to be destroyed. The tillers of the soil cleared out from a noble landowner's domains get shelter how they can, in hovels in bad condition and dearly priced, where they are huddled together, as the following picture, taken from the Parliamentary Blue Book, shows:—"Modesty must be an unknown virtue, decency an unimaginable thing, where, in one small chamber, with the beds lying as thickly as they can be packed, father, mother, young men, lads, grown and growing up girls—two and sometimes three generations—are herded promiscuously, where every opera-

tion of the toilette and of nature—dressing, undressing, births and deaths—is performed by each within the sight or hearing of all; where children of both sexes, to as high an age as twelve or fourteen, or even more, occupy the same bed; where the whole atmosphere is sensual, and human nature is degraded into something below the level of the swine. It is a hideous picture, and the picture is drawn from life."

In Scotland, even under the old semi-barbarous, but patriarchal, system of clanship, the land was treated as the property of the entire clan—so much so, at any rate, that the chief of the clan had no power, under penalty of death, to alienate any portion of the land without formal authority of the clan given in solemn assembly, and the meanest member had privileges in connexion with the cultivation of the soil.

In Ireland, the old Brehon laws as to the land are more clear and distinct than on most other topics. Each member of the local society or tribe had a life interest in the land of the society; and when he lost it by death, or by quitting the tribe, a new partition of land was made, so as to prevent too large a portion falling into the hands of any one holder. And yet, after generations of progress, we find that at the passing of the Church Disestablishment Act the land was practically in the hands of a few large families, who consider that they are entitled to hold the soil without any sort of consequent liability to provide for the lives or to ensure the happiness of the inhabitants. Under the provisions of the Irish Land Act, 1871, and of the Church Disestablishment Act, some facilities are now offered in Ireland to small tenants to become landowners, and under the second Act 4000 proprietaries, averaging twenty acres, have been created, and 6000 similar freeholds are said to be in course of purchase. Unfortunately, no similar possibility exists in any other part of the United Kingdom.

The land is constantly increasing in value, or, at any rate, a higher rental is exacted by the freeholder, and yet there is no corresponding contribution from the landowner towards the imperial burdens; on the contrary, the landowner shifts the fiscal burdens on to the labourer.

In illustration of this, the territorial incomes for England and Wales alone amounted, in 1800, to £22,500,000; in 1810 they had increased seven millions; in 1850 they had swollen to £41,118,329; in 1861 they had grown to

£54,678,412; to-day, including mines and minerals, they exceed £198,000,000; while the land-tax, which in 1800 was about £2,032,000 per annum, is now reduced by redemption to about one-half that amount.

Since the date of the usurpation of power by the territorial aristocracy—viz., since the accession to the throne of the House of Brunswick—land has, according to the *Westminster Review*, increased in value in Great Britain to a startling extent. Our taxation is constantly and fearfully on the increase; in 1842 it was, without the charge for the Kaffir war, under 57 millions; in 1877 it overtops 78 millions—an increase of 22 millions in twenty-eight years.

Out of this taxation, in this country, less than one-seventy-seventh portion of the burden falls on land. In France, land, prior to the Franco-Prussian war, bore one-sixth of all imperial burdens; in India, nearly one-half of the taxation falls on the land. To make the contrast more striking, we may point out that twenty-five years before the accession of the House of Brunswick, land paid nearly two-thirds of all the imperial taxes, the rents received by the aristocracy being then only the tenth part of what they are to-day. And these rents, which have grown tenfold in two hundred years, for what are they paid? For the natural fecundity of the soil, which the owner seldom or never aids. It is for the use of air, moisture, heat, for the varied natural forces, that the cultivator pays, and the receiver talks of the rights of property. We shall have for the future to talk in this country of the rights of life—rights which must be recognized, even if the recognition involves the utter abolition of the present landed aristocracy. The great rent-takers have been the opponents of progress, they have hindered reform, they kept the taxes on knowledge, they passed combination laws, they enacted long parliaments, they made the machinery of parliamentary election costly and complicated, so as to bar out the people. They have prevented education, and then have sneered at the masses for their ignorance. All progress in the producing power of labour has added to the value of land, and yet the landowner, who has often stood worse than idly by while the land has increased in value, now talks of the labourer as of the lower herd which must be checked and restrained. As Louis Blanc says: "The general wealth and population are susceptible of an almost indefinite increase, and, in fact, never do cease increasing; commerce demands for its operations a territorial basis

wider and wider; towns are enlarged, and new ones built; the construction of a railway suddenly gives to this suburb, to that district, an artificial value of some importance. All this combines in a manner to raise the value of land."

These land monopolists, too, are ever grasping; they swallow common lands and enclosed wastes, relying on their long purses, the cost of legal proceedings, and the apathy of a peasantry ignorant of their rights and unable to perform their duties.

The *Westminster Review* says that no less than 7,000,000 acres of commons have gone to increase the already large estates of adjoining proprietors during the last 200 years—all, be it remembered, since the landed aristocracy have, under the present reigning family, wielded full parliamentary power—all taken during the time that the imperial national debt had risen from about £52,000,000 to that enormous sum, of which we still owe upwards of £750,000,000 in England, besides our debt in India, being estimated at over £120,000,000 more. Side by side with this increased taxation, and upon these huge estates, we find an unimproved—if not an absolutely deteriorated—farm population. The parliamentary blue-books of 1867 describe the population round Mayhill as seeming "to lie entirely out of the pale of civilization; type after type of social life degraded almost to the level of barbarism." In Yorkshire we are told of the "immorality and degradation arising from the crowded and neglected state of the dwellings of the poor."

In Northamptonshire some of the cottages "are disgraceful, necessarily unhealthy, and a disgrace to civilization." In a Bedfordshire parish "one-third of the entire population were receiving pauper relief, and it seemed altogether to puzzle the relieving officer to account for the manner in which one-half the remainder lived." In Bucks the labourer has to "pay exorbitant rent for a house in which the ordinary decencies of life become a dead letter." So we may go through all the eastern, southern, south-western, and most of the midland rural districts, until the repetition grows as nauseous as it is hideous.

The wages of this wretched agricultural class varied before the union of agricultural labourers from 7*s.* to 15*s.* per week, wage of 10*s.* to 12*s.* per week being the most common, out of which a man had to pay rent, and feed, clothe, and educate himself and his family. Children were

sent into the fields to work sometimes before they were seven years old, often before eight years, and nearly always about that age. Even now, in Somersetshire and Dorsetshire, agricultural labourers' wages average about 11*s.* per week. Lord Walsingham claimed them at from 13*s.* to 15*s.* The Prince of Wales pays 13*s.* And with education thus rendered practically impossible, we find the organs of "blood and culture" taunting the masses with their ignorance. We allege that the mischief is caused by those who exact so much for rent, and waste so much good land for pleasure, that no fair opportunity for happy life is left to the tiller of the soil. While the condition of the agricultural population is as thus stated, it cannot be pretended that sufficient compensation is found in the general prosperity of the artisan classes. Probably there are at this moment in England and Wales more than half-a-million able-bodied paupers—that is, men able to work, who cannot get work in a country where millions of acres of land fit for cultivation lie untilled.

In Plymouth, in 1870, one out of every fifteen persons was in receipt of pauper relief; and we fear that throughout England and Wales it would be found that, at the very least, one in every twenty is in the same position, while in addition, many thousands struggle on in a sort of semi-starvation misery. During the last half-dozen years the figures have been improved by the restrictions on out-door relief, but the improvement is but a surface-polish. At Cardiff the most fearful revelations have been made before the Parliamentary Commissioners as to the state resulting from the folly or criminality of some of the large capitalists. In this part of Wales, by paying wages at long intervals, men who were sometimes justices of the peace and large landowners, in 1870 compelled their labourers to ask advances as of favour when they were really entitled to payment as of right. Then, by a dexterous evasion of the Truck Act, the men were forced to a "tommy shop," where the advance was made in goods instead of cash. Men swore before the Commissioners that it was with the greatest difficulty they could get a few shillings of ready money, and that, to obtain it, they were often compelled to re-sell the goods forced on them at a loss. The shop being sure of its customers, the women have been kept waiting for nine hours for their turn, and have had to assemble, two, and sometimes four, hours before the opening of the shop, this

even in the winter weather; and, in two or three cases, have been known to wait outside all night, and this through rain and storm, to secure a good place when business should commence, so that they might get the food they were unable to obtain elsewhere, and without which the breakfast meal could not be got. We wonder what kind of homes they can possess which can be left for nine hours, and what is done with the young children! The cruelty inflicted upon the women themselves by such a necessity is scarcely credible. One woman had not "seen money for twelve years," being constantly in debt to the shop. The same woman on oath said: "I went once when my son-in-law was ill, and I wanted only two or three shillings, and I begged and cried for it, but do you think I could get it? No!" Nay, it was proved that when a collection was made for a funeral, as the bulk of the workers were without money, the cashier entered the amount subscribed by each man in a book. Five per cent. was charged for cashing the list, then any amount due from the deceased's family to the shop was taken out, and even then part of the balance had to be taken in goods. Deductions were made week by week for the doctor, who was paid by bill at the end of the twelve months, and the men had no means of knowing the amount paid.

Nor is the state of things just described confined to Wales. In Scotland a companion picture may be traced. In the lead mines belonging to His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch, near Elvanfoot, in Lanarkshire, the miners have been treated more like serfs than free labourers. Young men of from eighteen to twenty were stated in 1870 to be working for 10*d.* a day; and while the nominal wages are 14*s.* to 16*s.* per week, or £36 8*s.* to £41 12*s.* per annum, for the ordinary working men, a horribly clever system of infrequent payments, occasional advances, a "tommy shop," and a complicated system of accounts, has so entangled the men that their pay for the year is said to range from £25 to £35. The Duke of Buccleuch is more careful of his game and his salmon than he is of his lead miners. About twelve months before the first edition of this pamphlet was issued, not far from Hawick, a poor woman, with a child at the breast, was sent to gaol for being in possession of a salmon for which she could not account. The child died whilst its mother was in gaol; but the Duke of Buccleuch's interest in the salmon fisheries was maintained.

In the *Liverpool Mercury* it was alleged that the wickedly-fraudulent truck system—here, too, cunningly disguised to evade the Truck Act—also prevailed in the Wednesbury district. And yet the noble lords and high-minded gentlemen who thus grind down the poor, and who, by cheating their labourers, demoralize honest labourers into cheats—will preside at pious gatherings, and talk about saving the souls of those whose lives they are damning. Or these born legislators will denounce trades union outrages—these high-minded men, who draw scores of thousands out of the muscle and heart of their wretched workpeople, and then endow a church, and listen to a laudatory sermon preached by the local bishop.

We affirm the doctrine laid down by Mr. Mill and other political economists, "that property in land is only valid, in so far as the proprietor of the land is its improver," and that "when private property in land is not expedient, it is unjust;" we contend that the possession of land involves and carries with it the duty of cultivating that land, and, in fact, individual proprietorship of soil is only defensible so long as the possessor can show improvement and cultivation of the land he holds. And yet there are—as Captain Maxse shows in his admirable essay published in the *Fortnightly Review*—in Great Britain and Ireland, no less than about 29,000,000 acres of land in an uncultivated state, of which considerably over 11,000,000 acres could be profitably cultivated.

There are many thousands of labourers who might cultivate this land, labourers who are in a semi-starving condition, labourers who help to fill gaols and workhouses. To meet this let the legislature declare that leaving cultivable land in an uncultivated state is a misdemeanour, conviction for which should give the Government the right to take possession of such land, assessing it by its actual return for the last five years, and not by its real value, and handing to the proprietor the amount of, say, twenty years' purchase in Consolidated $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Stock, redeemable in a limited term of years. The land so taken should not be sold at all, but should be let out to persons willing to become cultivators, on sufficiently long terms of tenancy to fairly recoup the cultivators for their labour and capital, and these cultivators should yearly pay into the National Treasury, in lieu of all other imperial taxes, a certain proportion of the value of the annual produce. This tenancy to be immediately

determinable in the event of the improvement being insufficient, and extensible on evidence of *bonâ fide* improvement of more than average character.

All land capable of producing food, and misused for preserving game, should be treated as uncultivated land. The diversion of land in an old country from the purpose it should fulfil—that of providing life for the many—to the mere providing pleasure for the few, is a crime. The extent to which the preservation of game has been carried in some parts of England and Scotland shows a reckless disregard of human happiness on the part of the landed aristocracy, which bids fair to provoke a fearful retribution. Paragraphs in the newspapers show how almost tame pheasants are driven to the very muzzles of the guns, to be shot down by royal butchers, who have not even the excuse of sport in their wholesale slaughterings.

It is calculated that for the deer forests of Scotland alone nearly two million acres of land—some of it the choicest pasture, much of it valuable land—is entirely lost to the country. Two red deer mean the displacement of a family, and it is, therefore, scarcely wonderful that we should learn that much of the Duke of Sutherland's vast estate is a mere wilderness.

Country members who shun the House of Commons while estimates are voted, and go to dinner when emigration and pauperism are topics for discussion, crowd the benches of St. Stephen's when there is some new Act to be introduced for the better conviction of poachers without evidence, or for the protection of fat rabbits, which eat and spoil crops, against lean farm labourers, who, having not enough to eat, pine alike in physique and intellect.

The Game Laws are a disgrace to our civilization, and could not stand twelve months were it not for the overwhelming influence of the landed aristocracy in the Legislature. The practice of game preserving is injurious in that, in addition to the land wasted for the preserve, it frequently prevents proper cultivation of surrounding lands, and demoralizes and makes criminals of the agricultural labourers, creating for them a kind and degree of crime which would be otherwise unknown.

Poaching, so severely punished, is often actually fostered and encouraged by the agents of the very landholders who sit as Justices of the Peace to punish it. Pheasants' and partridges' eggs are bought to stock preserves; the game-

keepers who buy these eggs shut their eyes to the mode in which they have been procured, although in most instances it is thoroughly certain how they have been obtained. The lad who was encouraged to procure the eggs, easily finds that shooting or catching pheasants gains a much higher pecuniary reward than leading the plough-horse, trimming the hedge, or grubbing the plantation. Poaching is the natural consequence of rearing a large number of rabbits, hares, partridges, and pheasants, in the midst of an underpaid, under-fed, badly-housed, and deplorably ignorant mass of agricultural labourers. The brutal outrages on gamekeepers, the barbarous murders of police, of which we read so much, are the regrettable, but very natural, measures of retaliation for a system which takes a baby child to work in the fields, sometimes soon after six years of age, commonly before he is eight years old, which trains all his worst propensities, and deadens or degrades his better faculties, which keeps him in constant wretchedness, and tantalizes him with the sight of hundreds of acres on which game runs and flies well-fed, under his very nose, while he limps ill-fed along the muddy lane which skirts the preserve—game, which is at liberty to come out of its covert and eat and destroy the farmer's crop, but which is even then made sacred by the law, and fenced round by carefully-drawn covenants.

An agricultural labourer (with a wife and family), whose weekly pittance gives him bare vitality in summer, and leaves him often cold and hungry in winter, in the midst of lands where game is preserved, needs little inducement to become a poacher. Detected, he resists violently, for his local judges are the game owners, and he well knows that before them he will get no mercy. The game watchers are armed with flails, bludgeons, and firearms; the poacher uses the same brute argument. Indicted at the Assize he goes to the county gaol, and his wife and children go to the union workhouse. Imprisonment makes the man worse, not better, and he is confirmed into the criminal class for the rest of his life, while his family, made into paupers, help to add still more to the general burdens of the country.

In the agricultural districts, offences in connexion with the Game Laws are more numerous than those of any other class. Men suspected of inclination for poaching are easily sent to gaol, for cutting a twig or for nominal trespass, by magistrates who, owning land on which game is reared, re-

gard it as most wicked sacrilege that hungry labourers should even look too longingly across the hedge.

In this land question the abolition of the Game Laws must be made a prominent feature.

The enormous estates of the few landed proprietors must not only be prevented from growing larger, they must be broken up. At their own instance, and gradually, if they will meet us with even a semblance of fairness, for the poor and hungry cannot well afford to fight; but at our instance, and rapidly, if they obstinately refuse all legislation. If they will not commence inside the House of Parliament, then from the outside we must make them listen. If they claim that in this we are unfair, our answer is ready—

You have monoplized the land, and while you have got each year a wider and firmer grip, you have cast its burdens on others; you have made labour pay the taxes which land could more easily have borne. You now claim that the rights of property in land should be respected, while you have too frequently by your settlements and entails kept your lands out of the possibility of fulfilling any of the obligations of property, and you have robbed your tradespeople and creditors, because your land was protected by cunningly contrived statutes and parchments against all duty, while it enjoyed all privilege. You have been intolerant in your power, driving your tenants to the poll like cattle, keeping your labourers ignorant and demoralized, and yet charging them with this very ignorance and degradation as an incapacity for the enjoyment of political rights. For the last quarter of a century, by a short-sighted policy, and in order to diminish your poor rates, you have demolished the cottages on your estates, compelling the wretched agricultural labourers, whose toil gave value to your land, to crowd into huts even more foul and dilapidated than those you destroyed. We no longer pray, we argue—we no longer entreat, we insist—that spade and plough, and sickle and scythe, shall have fair right to win life and happiness for our starving from the land which gave us birth.

To the landowners in the House of Peers we say:—It is on the land question, my lords, that the people challenge you, at present in sorrow and shame. Take up the matter while you may, and do justice while yet you can. The world is wide for you to seek your pleasure, the poor can only seek life—where death finds them—at home. Give up your battues, your red deer, your black game, your pheasants,

your partridges; and when you see each acre of land won by the fierce suasion of hardy toil to give life and hope to the tiller, in this you will find your recompense.

You few, who lock up in your iron safes the title-deeds of more than half Scotland's acreage, I plead to you; forget mere territorial pride and power, and be generous while you may, for the day is near when your pride may be humbled, and your power may be broken.

For you, lords of Erin's fertile soil—you who have wrought her shame and made her disaffection—you who have driven her children across the broad ocean to seek for life—even for you there is the moment to save yourselves, and do good to your kind. Thoughtful workmen will try to gradually win your land by law, hungry paupers may suddenly wrest it from you in despair; you may yield it now on fair terms, and grow even richer in the yielding. England is growing hungry, empty bellies make angry faster than heads reason, and the Land Question cannot stand still.

The struggle—if you compel it, landlords of Great Britain—will be one in which the landless will claim political power, and use it as a weapon, as did their French brethren eighty-five years ago.

At present by gradual concession, you may even win a meed of praise for generosity of conduct, and you may avert for generations that appeal which hunger has always prompted, when pride and power had been deaf to the cry of a nation. At present you have prestige to aid you; use it for good, while you can, for once let the storm-wind of popular indignation turn against your rank and position, and your peerage-prestige will be like a rotten reed on which to lean.

To-day the arbitrament is in your hands, and we pray a just deliverance. To-morrow—if to-day you do nothing—it may be your turn to pray, while your judges may be too hungry to listen. To-day you make the law; use it for human right; for it may be that if you do nothing, to-morrow the law will unmake you, as penalty for having worked and permitted so much wrong against your poorer brethren.

TORYISM FROM 1770 TO 1879.

BY

CHARLES BRADLAUGH.

FROM 1688—when the Whig Revolution which dethroned James II., and took away the possible succession from James II.'s son, affirmed the principle that "the people of the land, fully and freely represented," have the right to take back from the wearer of the crown the authority entrusted by the nation to the monarch—down to the accession of George III., the Tories were rigidly excluded from office. During this period of nearly eighty years the Tories were consistent haters and revilers of the reigning members of the House of Hanover. No words we have ever uttered or written were half so bitter against the Brunswicks as those which came from Tory lips and Tory pens. As the Tories were not allowed to dip into the national purse they were eloquent in and out of Parliament in favour of national economy. Tories not being permitted, except in rare instances, to be commissioned officers, we have strong denunciations of the evils of standing armies from Tories, both in the House of Lords and in the Commons. With the coming to the throne of George III. there was a marked change in Tory utterances, if not in Tory principles. George III. was a natural Tory. Buckle says of him that he was despotic as well as superstitious, and he adds: "Every liberal sentiment, everything approaching to reform—nay, even the mention of inquiry—was an abomination in the eyes of that narrow and ignorant prince." The "great Commoner" who in the very Cabinet Council talked "of being responsible to the people," was no fitting minister for a true Tory King; so by the aid of Lord Bute we have in 1770 Lord North as a real Tory Prime Minister, his administration lasting until 1782. None can doubt the pure Toryism of Lord North. On the 2nd March, 1769, he declared that he could not remember that he had voted for a single popular measure. It is to George III. and his worthy minister Lord North that we owe the whole bitterness of the struggle with the North American

The Tory Duke of York, putting his hand to his left breast, near the region where the heart should have been, pledged himself in the House of Lords that the measure for the relief of the Roman Catholics should not be carried, "so help me God." The virtuous and Tory Duke of Cumberland menaced the nation that he would leave it for ever if it dared to pass the Bill. But Tory resistance was vain. On the 4th of April, 1829, the Duke of Wellington declared that his unconvinced Cabinet had been compelled to submit to the popular will, being at last thoroughly convinced that they had no choice between concession and civil war. It was not that they would have cared for the horrors of civil war if they had dared to believe they would have won, but they feared defeat. It is only men with the sustaining courage of principles who can again and again, and with foreknowing persistence, fight losing battles, and since the Tories have been faithless to the Stuarts they have had no principles. And, except that modern opinion limits their power for mischief, the Tories of to-day are to Ireland as were the Tories of Pitt, Portland, Liverpool, Castlereagh, and Wellington. It was on the 2nd of December, 1868, that Mr. Disraeli declared that he would continue to give an uncompromising resistance to the disestablishment of the Irish Church. The Tories made '98; they sowed the seed for '48; they planted the roots of Fenianism; they it is whom we must indict for the continuing discontent in our sister isle. We come back again to the Ministry of Pitt, to the war with France, which arose out of the bargain made by Lord Elgin in 1791 to support the Royal Family of France—that is, to encourage, with armed support, weak and vacillating Louis XVI. to betray the very Constitution he had solemnly sworn to maintain. Without English subsidies, furnished by the Tory ministers, the European princes could have given small aid to the tottering Monarchy of France. The Tories feared that the contagion of liberty would be too fierce, and they made a war which endured from 1793 to 1815; and again, lovers of an Imperial policy, look at the effect of this war on our National Debt and national taxation. The war cost, in hard cash, £989,636,449. Before the war began the annual taxation of Great Britain and Ireland was £18,349,344; in 1815, when the war finished, the tax-bill had swollen to £77,887,335. Before the war commenced the National Debt was £247,874,434; when the war had finished England's future industry was mortgaged to repay £861,039,049, besides the capital value of the terminable annuities.

The political liberty we use to-day, the right of meeting we enjoy to-day, the cheap Press we read to-day, have all been won in spite of bitterest Tory opposition. Under Pitt the most infamous repressive laws were passed against tongue and pen.

One statute of 1796 declared that if a man permitted lectures or debates on any subject whatever without licence of a magistrate he might be fined £100 a day, and that if a man without a similar licence lent books, newspapers, or pamphlets, he might be fined £20. Under Lords Liverpool, Sidmouth, and Castlereagh, acts were passed in 1819 which actually prohibited the publication of a cheap pamphlet or a cheap newspaper until the publisher had given two sureties to the extent of £800 not to publish anything seditious. These statutes were only repealed under Mr. Gladstone in 1869, and after many a journalist had been ruined. In the period between the accession of Pitt to power and the termination of the long administration of Lord Liverpool, how many poor men went over and over again to gaol to win us free speech and free Press! In Scotland, Gerald, Skirving, Palmer, Muir, Margarot, and a host of others paid the penalty for their advocacy of reform; some died in the plantations, others died at home from dungeon fever. In London, Erskine's grand defence of Hardy, Tooke, and Thelwall, and in Manchester his brilliant pleading for Walker and his fellow-prisoners, serve to show us a little how the struggle was conducted, and the later fights, as in 1820, when a whole regiment of poor men were on trial with Hunt and Balmforth at Lancaster —all these mark the fashion in which political liberty has been painfully battled for and slowly won, despite Tory rule. And the present Tory Ministry is true to its old Tory traditions; while it dare not gag the Press in England, it has issued a Press gag law in India, and has stifled the Press in Cyprus. It dare not now use yeomanry to disperse a political meeting in Lancashire, as it did sixty years ago, but it ventures on a similar outrage in South Africa.

In office or out of office the Tories tried to keep bread dear until they were beaten by Cobden and the men of the anti-corn-law movement. In office and out of office the Tories hindered reform, until in the struggle prior to 1832 they were affrighted by Bristol riotings, Nottingham burnings, and the threat of Attwood and his Birmingham men that they would march on London. As they were in 1830, so they were in 1866, when Lord Derby, on the 9th July, as Tory Prime Minister, declared that he would not introduce a Reform Bill, but modified his opinion fourteen days later, when the Hyde Park railings were on the ground in Park Lane. The measure of reform of 1867 grew into its ultimate shape under pressure of large meetings held throughout the land. And as Tories have been, in office and out of office, since 1770 to 1874, so have they been under the present Ministry, from 1874 to 1879. When they came into office in 1874, our national expenditure amounted to £73,270,000, not including the sum paid for the "Alabama" claims. In 1878

our admitted national expenditure was £85,407,000, but this does not include many items for the Afghan war, which India cannot pay if she would, and ought not to pay if she could. These eighty-five and a half millions do not include the whole of the items of the disbursements in South Africa, although it is hopeless to expect that the South African colonies can contribute much to this cost. The Tories have taken from the nation each year a larger sum in respect of the National Debt, and yet the national indebtedness is to-day actually larger than when they came into office. In March, 1874, the debt was nominally £779,283,245, but as the estimates of the outgoing Government showed a receivable surplus of income as against expenditure on the current year, of more than five and a half millions, the real balance should only be taken at seven hundred and seventy-three and three-quarter millions. In March, 1879, the National Debt was admittedly £778,078,840, but this left out many millions to be added of Indian and South African war debt, and who dares say to how much the butcher's bill has already swollen or will swell the debt before this year has finished?

Lord Sandon pleads that our Imperial interests need this enormous expenditure. I answer that our national interests do not need it. In England we want no Empress and will not have one. Lord Sandon says that the expenditure is required for the protection of our colonies. I reply that this wanton waste for powder and steel is only required in those colonies where we practise injustice, annexation, and oppression.

The bill of indictment against the present Tory Ministry is a most serious one. In November, 1875, they bought from the late Viceroy of Egypt—at a time when they ought to have known him to be utterly insolvent—a large quantity of practically worthless shares, for which £4,080,000 was paid. These shares not even giving a right to speak or vote in the Company, the Tory Ministry have since purchased other more valuable shares to qualify salaried directors to watch over the valuable property so acquired. As this purchase was actually most illegally completed, and the money treasonably paid before Parliament was consulted on the matter, an extravagant rate of interest was paid by the Government to the Messrs. Rothschild, by whom the scheme was temporarily financed. To cover this reckless waste of public money to Rothschilds the Prime Minister made two statements, both of which he either knew to be, or might have known to be, positively untrue—1. That Rothschilds had, at the request of the Government, bought the shares, and might have been compelled to keep them if Parliament had not endorsed the transaction. 2. That Rothschilds had found one million in gold on the 1st of December, 1875, and might have been called on to find the remaining three millions on the

following day—the facts, on the contrary, being that Rothschilds refused to be, and were not, parties to the purchase, except as lenders of the purchase-money, and that they expressly stipulated against being called on to find the three millions except at dates convenient to themselves. Subsequently to this the whole conduct of the Ministry in Egypt has been characterised by deception so far as the Ministerial explanations to Parliament are concerned, and by gross fraud on the nation.

The six millions' vote prior to Berlin was obtained by a fraud on the country; the Government, afterwards pledging itself that the abstract of the secret agreement with Russia was wholly unauthentic, thus led infatuated Jingoes to believe that Lords Beaconsfield and Salisbury were really advocating a bold policy at Berlin. Lord Beaconsfield made a wantonly false boast of having secured at Berlin an enduring peace when in Europe Austria was invading Bosnia; when the plans for the invasion of Zululand were already submitted to and approved by the Duke of Cambridge; and when the schemes for forcing a quarrel on Shere Ali, in breach of our solemn treaty, and in defiance of our deliberately pledged word, were being eagerly hurried on. In South Africa, in absolute bad faith, the Tories have most illegally destroyed the Dutch South African Republic. They have quarrelled with the Gaikas, the Galekas, and the Pondos, burning their kraals, stealing their cattle, and shooting their women and children. The Tories have landed us in a quarrel with the Baphutis, who have three times beaten us back from Moirosi's mountain, despite that English Christians have thrown dynamite to explode in the caverns where Baphuti men, women, and children lay hidden. These Tories planned long beforehand the invasion of Zulu territory, and sent reinforcements to enable Lord Chelmsford to make the invasion, and yet Lord Salisbury calls our defeat at Isandalana "an unexpected attack made by savages on one of our colonies, which came on us like a thunder-clap." They have decorated as a hero the Lord Chelmsford who, in coward terror, left our dead unburied for four long months.

With the warning of thirty-eight years since before their eyes, with a solemn treaty binding this country not to force European residents upon the Court of Cabul, the Tory Government have wantonly disregarded treaties, promises, and warnings, and they have, in breach of their own distinct statement to the English Parliament, tried to compel the late Shere Ali to receive a British resident at Cabul. These Tories have succeeded in deceiving the present English Parliament by false and fraudulent representations as to what was really happening in India and Afghanistan, and now, by excluding the representatives of the Press, except under most disgraceful conditions, they prevent the

real truth from reaching the English people. Lords Beaconsfield, Salisbury, and Lytton are responsible for the death of Sir Louis Cavagnari, as Lord Beaconsfield and Sir Bartle Frere are responsible for those who died at Isandalana. They were warned over and over again that there was danger to any European resident at Cabul, but Sir Bartle Frere mocked the warning in 1875, and Lord Lytton not only mocked the warnings prior to and after the entry of Sir Louis Cavagnari amongst the Cabulese, but he actually permitted lying telegrams of safety and quiet to be published in England in lieu of the discomforting reports which continually reached the Government.

What has this Tory Government—now said to be about to dissolve Parliament—to show to the people as compensation for this waste of treasure and loss of life? Seven thousand troops brought from India and marched back again, just enough to teach the inhabitants of Hindustan—whom we govern in their own country at the point of the bayonet—that we were not strong enough to hold our own in Europe without the help of Hindu swords. Cyprus, "a place at arms," desolate and fever-stricken, leased from the Porte at a high rent, which we are to hold as vassals of the Sultan to practise there a little slavery, a little Press-gagging, and some priest-shaving. The Asia Minor Protectorate, a dissolving view in a political magic lantern with the slides twisted and blurred. We are repudiated by Turkey; Safvet Pasha himself told me that England had betrayed Turkey into war by promises of support which had never been kept. We have made Italy uneasy. Germany ridicules our pretence of boldness, and France regards us with mistrust. At home trade is bad, our people are hungry and unemployed. But their verdict is to be given at the polling-booth on the day of the general election.

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